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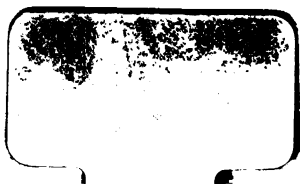
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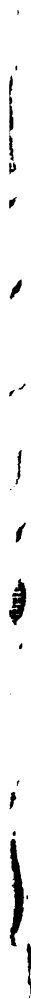
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JOURNAL
OF A
TOUR IN ITALY,

WITH REFLECTIONS
ON THE
PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF RELIGION
IN THAT COUNTRY.

BY
CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.
CANON OF WESTMINSTER.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
RIVINGTONS, WATERLOO PLACE.
1863.

~~200. k. 124.~~
203. c. 220.

LONDON:
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.



P R E F A C E.

THE title-page will have informed the reader that the Tour, of which an account is given in the present publication, was undertaken by the Author for the purpose of observing the state of Religion in Italy.

He was disposed to believe, before he set out from England, that the present juncture of Italian affairs may perhaps prove more important to the Church in Italy than any crisis in her history since the days of the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century.

That impression was strengthened by his visit to that country.

The following pages do not pretend to give any description of pictures, statues, or other interesting objects of Ancient and Modern Art.

The Author's design will have been fully accomplished, if they serve to shed any light on the religious condition of Italy; and to render any assistance, however small, to the endeavours of those loyal and disinterested persons in that country, who are labouring to build up and consolidate the fabric of constitutional Monarchy, and of social Order, Prosperity, and Peace, on the foundations of true Religion; and to restore the Church of Italy to the purity, liberty, and vigour, which distinguished her in ancient times.

*Cloisters, Westminster Abbey,
Jan. 3, 1863.*

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CHAPTER I.

LONDON TO BÂLE.

Tuesday, May 13th, 1862.—Left London-bridge at seven A.M. for Dover: among the passengers were some Irish Roman Catholic Priests going to Rome for the great gathering there at Whitsuntide. From Calais by Lille to Mouscron, the Belgian frontier: beautiful cultivation, fine crops, gardens in excellent order. At Mouscron a respectable-looking man, about fifty-six years of age, got into the carriage,—a second-class one,—he asked me whether there were not many new churches being built in England. “Yes.” “Were they for *Catholiques*?” “Yes; they are built for the worship of God according to the ritual of the Church of England, which is *Catholique*.” “But you do not believe in the *présence*

réelle ? "We do not believe in a *carnal* presence; but we believe that the body and blood of Christ are received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." "But you do not believe in Purgatory?" "No." "Nor practise Confession?" "Yes—to God: and when the conscience cannot otherwise be quieted, the penitent is exhorted to go to the priest and open his grief, that by the ministry of God's Holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice; but as for the Roman doctrine of Purgatory, we do not find it in Scripture, and it was not believed by the Ancient Church: it is no part 'of the Faith delivered to the Saints,' and we therefore cannot receive it, and we call ourselves *Catholiques*, because we belong to the *Catholic Church* and hold the *Catholic faith*; and we think that the Church of Rome has exposed herself to the charge of heresy and schism, because she adds new dogmas to the Ancient Faith; (such as the recently-published dogma of the Immaculate Conception;) and because she enforces them on all as necessary to salvation, and therefore we are sure that she is not *the Catholic Church*;

and thus also we know, that the Pope, who has put forth this new doctrine, is in error, and therefore cannot be infallible: and we feel also much alarm for those who build their religion on the foundation of the Pope's *supposed* infallibility. What will become of those who rest their faith on that foundation? What will become of many among them when that foundation is taken away? Will they not become infidels?"

"But," replied he, "if you had the proper dispositions of heart you would receive all that Rome teaches, and would not pretend to be a judge of her doctrines;" and he instanced the case of an unbeliever, who, he said, had been brought under the influence of a saintly Confessor, lately dead, whose name he mentioned, and had embraced the true faith, unhesitatingly and devoutly, and was immediately transported into a holy ecstasy of joy and rapture—"bonheur inconcevable." "There," said he, "was a *practical* proof of the truth of the doctrines of the Church of Rome."

How often does Romanism come into close contact with Methodism, by making faith to be purely *subjective*!

I ventured to submit to his consideration whether such notions as these might not eventually give a great advantage and triumph to Infidelity; and whether perhaps it may not be on account of the prevalence of such notions that there is so much of *incrédulité* in this country. No religion can stand, unless it be based on Reason; not as if Reason could *discover* Articles of *Faith*; but Reason can prove that the Holy Scripture is God's Word, and Reason can show that certain doctrines are rightly deduced from Scripture, and so Reason leads to Faith.

"Have you ever read the works of François de Sales?" he asked; "*there* you would see the perfection of Christianity, and some of the strongest arguments against heresy."

The train stopped—and just before he got out of the carriage he apologized courteously for having said any thing that might have caused me pain; for which I assured him there was no reason. Here was a person of the rank of a small tenant-farmer, taking much interest in religious affairs, and endeavouring to make a religious impression on a stranger. Might not we profit by such examples of

religious earnestness and zeal? In the same carriage there were two Irishmen also of the middle class, who gave an interesting account of the religious movement in the west of Ireland, under the direction of the Bishop of Tuam, and by means of an Irish-speaking clergy (*there* is the great secret of its success); and they bore testimony to the permanence of its effect in the formation of regular congregations. They said that the recent appeal of the Pope for "Peter's Pence" had not been successful in Ireland, and that the Irish who had gone to Italy to join the Papal Legion, had come back disappointed and disconcerted by the treatment they had received.

Arrived at *Cologne*, Hôtel du Nord, at 4.40 in the morning.

Cologne, Wednesday.—Walked out at half-past six A.M.; found a large congregation in the magnificent cathedral: indeed there were three different congregations at three several altars in the church. No excitement; it was only Low Mass: the people were mostly of the poorer class. Went also to two other churches, the Church of St. Andrew and the Jesuits: good congregations in both those

churches; most of them had books and were following the Service. Went again to the cathedral at ten o'clock: another large congregation of better-dressed people. High Mass. Have we any thing like this manifestation of public devotion in any of our cities in England on *week-days*? Cologne is rather an exceptional place, I believe. It has an air of leisure, not to say laziness, in its streets; and it preserves the traditions of mediæval life more perhaps than any great towns of Rhenish Prussia.

At half-past eleven went on by railway by Mayence: schools making a holiday in parties, attended by Sisters of Mercy, the caps of the children wreathed with flowers: arrived at *Frankfort*, Hôtel de Russie, at half-past six P.M.

Thursday, May 14th.—Left Frankfort at half-past ten A.M. for Bâle; a beautiful journey of about 180 miles, having the Black Forest on our left, and the distant hills of the Vosges on our right: crops very forward in the valleys, ripe cherries sold at the stations: one of our companions was a young Jew reading a little old Hebrew manual, "*labra movens*,"—

and almost aloud, as the Ethiopian did in his chariot, when returning from Jerusalem. Another of our fellow-travellers was a négociant of Hamburgh, who informed us that the principal article of his personal expenditure was cigars, of which he smoked a dozen a day, and that he had just purchased a box containing 1000. We passed some large open, ventilated sheds by the road-side, which, he informed us, were for drying tobacco: had a distant view of the spire of Strasbourg on the right, and after some time passed by Freiburg, with its beautiful pierced spire on the left,—a place which has derived much celebrity from the works of the learned Roman Catholic Divine, Dr. B. Von Hirscher, the Dean of that church, and Professor of Theology in the University of that city.

Dr. Hirscher's book on the present state of the Church—"Die kirchlichen Zustände," published at *Tübingen*, 1849, has been translated into French by M. A. Stappaerts (Anvers, 1851), and into English by Dr. A. Cleveland Coxe of Baltimore, who has prefixed to it an interesting preface (Oxford, 1852), and into Italian by Count Tasca (Milan,

1862). It is one of the most candid and eloquent statements that have ever appeared, of the desire for Reformation which is felt by devout and learned Roman Catholic Divines. The Author draws a clear and striking picture of the difficulties in which the Roman Catholic Church in Germany was placed, in 1849, by its separation from the State, and at the same time displays the advantages which it might derive from the possession of greater freedom of action. He earnestly advises the formation of *Diocesan* Synods, in which the *Laity* as well as the Clergy should have a part, for the management of the property and the maintenance of the discipline of the Church, and gives a programme of the questions which should be discussed at these Synods;—

1. Measures to be adopted for the improvement of Education, especially Clerical Education.

2. Measures to be adopted for the recovery of the great mass of the people—now alienated from the Church, and what benefits may be derived from religious “Conferences.”

3. Liturgical Reforms. Revision of the Breviary, &c. : whether the Liturgy should not

be in the mother tongue of the people? Reforms in the pompous ceremonial of the Church. Communion in *both kinds*. Abuses in the lax administration of the Holy Communion "in articulo mortis." Reform of abuses in Confession and Absolution. Reform of abuses connected with the doctrine of Purgatory and Indulgences. Abuses in the worship of saints, "tending to Polytheism."

4. Discipline : abolition of celibacy of Clergy.

5. The introduction of the "Lay Element" into Church Synods.

6. Abuses in religious *confraternities*.

These are the subjects which are discussed by Dr. Hirscher in his Essay; and his learning and high position give additional interest to his work, especially in these times.

May 16; Bâle, Hôtel de la Cigogne.—Early in the morning walked to the bridge over the Rhine. Very picturesque; lofty houses with high pitched roofs; windows with bright green shutters; lofty turrets with variegated tiling of rich colours, like porcelain; gardens interspersed among the houses, with acacias in full bloom, and creepers mantling over the edge of the river, which was flowing in a rapid, clear,

dark green stream, sweeping along with a glorious "pomp of waters." The city clean and cheerful.

The old Cathedral—now in the hands of the Reformed or Calvinists—stands on a noble site; a high terrace over the left bank of the Rhine. On the north side is a very interesting old doorway with sculptures representing the Last Judgment. The venerable Cathedral is kept in good order. Beautiful stained windows, from Munich. Modern Calvinism is much more tolerant than its former self; witness these windows at Bâle, and the magnificent recent additions to Glasgow Cathedral. Bishop Sanderson would not have any occasion to preach such a sermon¹ as he did to the people of Lincolnshire, who in their zeal for reformation destroyed the stained windows of Boston Church. Norman clerestory; apse; where the high altar once stood, are seats in parallel lines for the principal male members of the congregation. The women are separated from the men on benches in the nave, which are ingeniously contrived with backs moveable, so that the persons who occupy them may look either to the east

¹ On Rom. iii. 8.

or west. There is a large new organ. The congregation rarely kneels. There is not daily service ; but only service on Sundays, and two week-days. The Holy Communion is administered once a month : the Ecclesiastics sit behind (i.e. to the east of) the Table, which, singular enough, is of *stone*, and the communicants come up to it, one by one, and receive standing.

One of the most interesting remains of mediæval art is the golden altar-front given to this cathedral by the Emperor Henry II. (about A.D. 1000) and his wife Cunegonde as a Thank-offering to our Blessed Lord for his recovery from sickness, and with the following inscription containing a singular mixture of various languages, and showing the transition of versification from quantity to accent. It is now in the Hôtel Cluny, at Paris :—

“ Quis sicut *Hel*² fortis, medicus, *Soter*³ benedictus ?
Respice terrigenas clemens Mediator usias⁴. ”

There is a beautiful old Font in this Cathedral : but it is never used. Baptism is administered with a silver basin on the altar : the

² *El*, Hebrew for GOD. ³ *Soter*, Greek for SAVIOUR.

⁴ *Usias*, Greek for (ὄντας) *beings*.

father is always present and gives the name. But they have also three God-parents, or rather Witnesses. There is a hymn book—but no prayer book for the people. The “Herr Antistes,” (is not this title a practical testimony to Episcopacy?) or other minister, uses a book with prayers. I applied for a copy and was supplied with one (it is a small volume of 250 pages in large type) for five and a half francs in sheets; the reason why its price was so high is that only a few copies are printed for the use of the Clergy only.

- The Church of Rome withholds the Scriptures from the People: and keeps her Prayers shut up in a dead language, for the most part—whenever she has her own way, and excludes the people from participating in them, and does not allow them to obey St. Paul’s precept, “I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also⁵.” But may not those *Protestant* Communities, which confine the use of liturgical offices to their *Ministers*, and do not invite the *People* to participate in them, be chargeable also with a want of due

⁵ 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

appreciation of the true character of *public* prayer,—of *common* prayer? Are they not even in some degree liable to the imputation, with which the Church of Rome is justly charged, of making divine service into an “opus operatum”—a work transacted wholly by the Minister? However, let us be thankful for the liturgical offices, in the vernacular tongue, which are still preserved among them. I have been agreeably surprised by much that is contained in this little volume to which I have referred, which was printed at Bâle in 1826. It is a Ritual for the use, not only of this Church, but of *all* the Evangelical Churches of the Canton. Its Preface, which bears the signature of Hieronimus Falkeisen, “Antistes und Archidecanus,” expresses a desire that *uniformity* of *worship* may be maintained in all the Churches of the Canton.

It begins with forms of Prayer to be used before and after sermons on Sundays and weekdays. There is also a form of Prayer for the monthly day of supplication. These forms of prayer are very long, and not broken by responses; and the whole work of offering prayer—as far as its outward expression is concerned

—devolves entirely on the *Minister*. This is the character of all the offices in this volume. In all the 250 pages of which it consists, there are not, I think, a hundred words which are to be uttered by the *people*.

After the forms of Prayer for Sundays we have Prayers before and after the instruction of children; next is a long general form of confession, prayer, and thanksgiving to be used when there is no sermon,* but when the Scripture is read, with a short exposition—a very excellent formulary, if its structure had been more popular: there are eleven pages, in which the Minister alone bears any part in the office.

This is followed by Prayers for Holy-days: which are *Christmas Day*; *Last Day of the Year*; *New Year's Day*; *Palm Sunday*; *Maundy Thursday*; *Good Friday*; *Easter Day*; *Ascension Day*; *Pentecost*, or *Whitsunday*; there is also a special office for the *Autumnal Communion Day* (*Herbst-Kommuniontag*).

Next follows the Office for *Infant Baptism*. It begins with stating the authority, in Holy Scripture, for the baptism of *Infants*, and with a declaration of what baptism is. Here,

as might be expected, the peculiar teaching of the school of Calvin shows itself. It reminds the Parents, and Witnesses of the baptism (*Taufzeugen*), that they are bound to remind the child of its baptism, and of the prayers offered in its behalf, and of the promises made in its name. The *Apostles' Creed* is then recited by the Minister, who asks the Parents whether they engage to bring up the child in this faith, to which they reply "Yes." The Minister then inquires of the Parents or Witnesses what the name of the child is to be; and then he administers the baptism with the same words as are in the English Liturgy; and offers a thanksgiving to God that the child has been born "in the bosom of the Christian Church, and God has graciously vouchsafed that the seal of Christianity, and of His children, and the stamp of Christ's sheep, should be impressed upon him." And a prayer is offered, "that, as he is baptized with water, so he may be baptized with the Blood and Spirit of Christ."

The Office for *Baptism* is followed by one for *Confirmation*. This is a long Office, occupying more than twenty pages.

It begins with an address to the congregation, on the uses of Confirmation; which is followed by prayer to God; and this is succeeded by a serious and earnest exhortation to the Candidates; in which they are reminded that they have been baptized in the name of the Blessed Trinity, and have been brought up in the true faith, the principal articles of which are then rehearsed and explained. A series of questions is then addressed to the Candidates. Do they willingly and openly profess their belief in these articles? Are they duly thankful to God for His mercies spiritual and temporal? Are they resolved, by God's grace, to serve Him truly unto their lives' end? "Do they feel true hunger and thirst for the food of everlasting life, which Jesus will give them in the signs and pledges of His body and blood in the Lord's Supper?"

The candidates then kneel down; and the Minister offers up prayers in their behalf: at the conclusion he says, "Now, dear children, rise up from your knees in the name of God, who is highly to be praised. Ye are not your own; ye are His. Praise, ye heavens, the

Name of the Lord! Praise, ye angels, ye guides of children, the Name of the Lord! Praise, ye parents, the Name of the Lord! Praise, ye children, the Name of the Lord!" "Ye are now invited to the Table of His Grace, where the memorial of His Body will be the food of your faith, and the memorial of His Blood will be the refreshing of your holiness in Love; and where ye will have meat and drink for life eternal, and be made one with Him in His Body, and be prepared to be partakers in His glory."

There is much in this Office that is expressed with great tenderness and beauty; and which many might be glad to see in an English translation.

This Office is followed by "Preparation for Holy Communion" and by the Office for the Holy Communion; one portion of which is called "*Handlung vor dem Altare*" (the Evangelical Church of Bâle does not scruple at the word *Altar*); the form of Administration of the elements is, "Your *faith* in the death of the Body, strengthen and preserve you unto everlasting life;

"Your faith in the outpouring of the Blood,

and Clergy with the consent of the Crown; and should, when so chosen, be confirmed by the *Metropolitan of the Province*, in which the diocese of the Bishop elect was situate, according to *ancient usage*.

These decrees of the Council of Bâle were adopted by Charles VII. of France, in an assembly of Prelates and Nobles, in 1438, at Bourges. In that measure the king followed the steps of his father Charles VI., who had published an edict to the same effect in 1418, and of St. Louis in 1268⁶, and those decrees

⁶ See Concilia Labb. et Cossart, Tom. xi. p. 907. Some of its articles are very deserving of attention at the present time :—

“For the maintenance of the peace of the State and the Church of our realm, and for the promotion of divine worship, and salvation of souls, and in order to obtain the favour and succour of Almighty God, we decree as follows :—

“ART. 1.—That all Bishops and patrons of benefices in our realm, preserve the full exercise of their rights, and that every one enjoy the jurisdiction which appertains to him.

“ART. 2.—That the Cathedral and other Churches of our realm enjoy the free exercise of election.

* * * * *

“ART. 4.—That all promotions, collations, and provisions

- of the Council of Bâle were incorporated into what was called the *Pragmatic Sanction*⁷, which for some time was regarded as the charter of Ecclesiastical Law in France.

The *Pragmatic Sanction* contains the following words:—"The *holy Fathers* of the *first ages*, (of the Church) framed wholesome decrees and ordinances for the happy government of the ecclesiastical body, both for the *election* and *institution* of the Ministers of the Church, and for their direction and for that of other Prelates. As long as those laws were followed, the Church of God was the fruitful source of honour and virtue; ecclesiastical discipline preserved its vigour; religion, piety, and charity flourished, and men enjoyed peace of mind and worshipped the Author of this godly quietness. But criminal ambition, insatiable cupidity, violating the rights of

of Prelacies, Dignities, and Offices Ecclesiastical be made according to the order of Common Law, and the *rules of Councils*, and the *statutes of the ancient holy Fathers*." Cp. Monseign. De Pradt (ancien Archevêque de Malines), "*Les quatre Concordats*," Paris, 1818. Tom. i. p. 200.

⁷ Which may be seen in the work of Monseigneur De Pradt, "*Les quatre Concordats*," i. pp. 204—212.

humanity, began to abandon the *wholesome decrees of the ancient Fathers*," &c.

But in A.D. 1516—1518 a great revolution was effected; one of the greatest that has ever taken place in ecclesiastical and civil affairs; and its effects are felt in France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal, even to this day. Pope Leo X. persuaded the French king, Francis I., to set aside the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and they framed a *Concordat*, in which the two contracting parties—the Pope and the King—sacrificed the rights of the People, Clergy, and Metropolitans, in order to aggrandize themselves. The Christian Church was a market, in which the Pope and the King met together in order to barter away what did *not belong to them*, and what they were bound to protect.

That *Concordat* has furnished the model to similar contracts between Popes and Sovereigns even to this day.

Perhaps the present age may behold a revival of the spirit which animated the Council of Bâle in the fifteenth century. Is there not some prospect of such a revival in Italy? Has not the age of Concordats passed

away? And will not the proper substitute for them be found in a return to the usages of primitive Christian antiquity?

The apartment in which the Council of Bâle was held is now a Museum. Here is a chest which belonged to Erasmus; and some of the frescos of Holbein's "Dance of Death." On the south side of the Cathedral is an old ruined church, used as a burial-place—very picturesque and interesting.

CHAPTER II.

FROM BÂLE TO MILAN.

Friday, May 16th.—Left Bâle at two P.M. for Lucerne; a beautiful journey, especially as we approached to Lucerne, and its lake. The train travelled leisurely, and afforded time to look at the succession of picturesque views of vale and mountain, Swiss-cottages, fields, gardens,—here and there a flock of goats,—and the Alps in the distance, capped with snow; arrived at Lucerne at seven P.M.

Saturday, May 17th.—*Lucerne*, Hôtel du Cygne, with a beautiful view over the lake. Bells ringing at half-past four in the morning for mass. Walked out early to the cathedral: fine situation on a hill above the town: the two spires have a striking effect; entered the church by a flight of high steps: mass, and a funeral going on: a great deal of public sympathy shown on these occasions; more than 1000 persons present. The relatives of the

deceased stand ranged on the two sides of the door of a small mortuary chapel (*chapelle ardente*)—outside the church—hung with black, the men on one side, the women on the other; hundreds of people came up, one after the other, entered the chapel, and touched the hands of the relatives, in token of condolence, and then passed on.

Near the cathedral is a cloister and a cemetery filled with monuments: and still further up the hill is a large enclosed burial-ground, for the Roman Catholic population; and another smaller one, with a very plain wooden temple-like chapel for the Protestants, with the words "Gott ist Liebe" inscribed over the door. Near it is a beautiful view of the city and the lake.

The cloister near the cathedral is like a *Campo Santo*, and contains some memorial pictures of the departed, well executed, and in good preservation: also some good specimens of monumental sculpture. The sepulchral inscriptions in this Roman Catholic cemetery are interesting. They do not give any intimation of a belief in the doctrine of Purgatory, but assume that the soul of the deceased

is in a state of bliss. There are a few texts of Scripture; and many of the inscriptions are in German rhyme, some in Latin. I copied the following beautiful lines. Are they from an ancient hymn?

“ Deponit opus operator
 In almis terræ gremiis;
 Fovendum semen seminator
 Telluris dat sacrariis,
 Spe fisus germen oriturum ¹
 Sub cœlitum auspiciis.
 Nos semen damus carius
 Lugentes terræ fotibus,
 Sperantes fore ut ex morte
 Cum meliore surgat sorte.”

“ The workman commits his work
 To the genial bosom of the earth,
 The sower commits his seed to be fostered
 In the sanctuary of the soil,
 Trusting in hope that the germ will arise
 Under the auspices of heavenly powers;
 We commit a dearer seed
 With tears to the nurture of the earth,
 In hope that out of death
 It may arise with a better lot.”

The *Campo Santo* has a very interesting

¹ After this word is inserted “profuturum.”

compartment, occupied entirely with graves of little children. They are arranged like garden-plots or parterres, with a small cross of black wood, and inscription at the head, and wreaths hanging on it. How many hopes lie buried there ! But of how much joy also is it the seed-plot !

The larger Roman Catholic cemetery, which is higher up the hill, is filled with graves, almost all of which have a cross ; the sepulchral monuments are engraved with various Christian symbols, such as the palm, the fish, the chrysalis, and butterfly ; a cross resting on an anchor, a ripe ear of corn.

The *Protestant* burial-ground presents an unfavourable contrast to this, in the coldness and baldness of its features : no crosses, nothing that appeals to the imagination, or ministers hope and comfort by the suggestion of natural analogies. But on the other hand it had an advantage over the Roman Catholic cemetery in the words of Holy Scripture on almost every grave.

Walking along a lane, on the banks of which are wild strawberries and wild geraniums in blossom, we had a lovely view of the lake.

Descended into the town: visited the new English church, which is shared between the English and the Swiss Protestants. The font is placed just in front of the altar. Surely the result of all this parsimonious *syncretism*, which is so prevalent on the continent, must be that the Church of England will be identified, in the mind of the people, with the various Protestant denominations which are now infected by Rationalism and Socinianism. Would it not be better to worship in a barn, than to give occasion to such a scandal as this? Even in political matters it is discreditable to sacrifice a principle for money. "Vendidit hic auro patriam," said the poet² of a class of persons whom he excludes from Elysium. And are the principles, privileges, and glories of the heavenly country to be bartered away for money?

Left Lucerne by steamer at two P.M.: a delightful day, the scenery of the Lake and the mountain above and around it indescribably beautiful. One of our fellow-passengers was an intelligent Roman Catholic Priest about

² Virg. *Æn.* vi. 621.

forty years of age, in ecclesiastical dress, with breviary and umbrella. He was a member of a religious order in Switzerland, and held an important post in one of its schools of education. When I mentioned the pleasure I had felt in seeing the sympathy shown to the mourners at the cathedral this morning, he said that it was due to the "esprit du Catholicisme," which had taken deep root at Lucerne, and even exercised a salutary influence on the Protestants of the place. When I observed that I had been also struck and surprised at the absence of all reference to the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory from the sepulchral monuments in the cloisters and cemetery, he said that people were naturally inclined to indulge in, and to express, hopes for their departed friends, but the Catholic Church laid great stress on that doctrine.

Was not the sympathy which we witnessed an emotion of the human heart, sanctified no doubt by grace; and as to the expressions on the gravestones, may not the human heart be a better teacher than the Roman Catholic Church?

"No," said he, "the doctrine of Purgatory

is a logical result of the revelation, which the Church has received of the divine holiness; and it is a necessary deduction from the *fact*, which is obvious to all, that many persons depart this life in a state—not of gross sin—but of indifference; a sort of neutral state, neither very bad nor good; and who require, therefore, to be qualified and prepared, by the purifying influence of suffering, for admission into the divine presence. I remember,” he added, “that when I was a boy, this difficulty struck me. How can the greater part of men, who die in that neutral state, ever be received into the society of angels and of God? and yet, can they all be excluded from it? Heaven forbid! I therefore was rejoiced to accept the solution provided by the Catholic Church in the doctrine of Purgatory.”

“But are you sure that this is the true solution? doubtless it might occur to the unregenerate reason, and it seems to have suggested itself to the heathen mind³. But

³ e. g. as in the lines of Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 737,—

“ ————— penitusque necesse est

Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris;

Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum

is it safe to build *doctrines* on the foundation of reason, apart from Revelation? And where is the doctrine of Purgatory *revealed* in Scripture?"

"In the second book of Maccabees⁴."

"But *that* book is not Canonical. Nor does it follow that, even if it were good to pray for the dead, we ought therefore to accept the doctrine of Purgatory; the prayer there mentioned was for *holy* persons, that they might have a joyful *resurrection*⁵."

"But the Fathers who lived in the next age to the Apostles taught this doctrine of Purgatory."

"Pardon me: they may have written some passages which speak of a purgatorial fire at the last day, supposed to be described by St. Paul⁶, but none of them ever taught the *Roman* doctrine of Purgatory as a state of departed souls."

Supplicia expendunt; aliæ panduntur inanes
 Suspensæ ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto
 Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.
 Quisque suos patimur Manes; *exinde per amplum*
Mittimur Elysium."

⁴ 2 Macc. xii. 44.

⁵ 2 Macc. xii. 44, 45.

⁶ 1 Cor. iii. 13—15.

"But the Catholic Church now teaches it."

"No: the *Roman* Church does; but not the *Catholic* Church. The Catholic Church is the Church of *all time*, as well as of all place, and if the doctrine of Purgatory was not taught by the Church in the *time* of the *Apostles* and of the primitive Fathers (as, assuredly, it was not), it cannot be said to be taught by *the Catholic* Church. And, since the Church of *Rome* imposes upon all persons this doctrine, and many others, which were never taught by the ancient Church, therefore it is evident that she is not *the Catholic* Church; nor even *a Catholic* Church, so far as those doctrines are concerned; but that in *these respects* she is a schismatical and heretical opponent of the Catholic Church. And this she has done in a remarkable manner by her new dogma of the Immaculate Conception."

"But," said he, "our Lord promised to St. Peter His perpetual presence and support, and founded His Church upon him; and therefore we may be sure that when the successor of St. Peter takes counsel with the Bishops of the Catholic world, as he did in the promulgation of that doctrine of the Immacu-

late Conception in 1854, Christ Himself speaks by the mouth of His Vicar, the Bishop of Rome."

"How then was it, that, when the question of this same doctrine was brought before the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century', which she calls a general Council, and asserts to have been guided by the Holy Spirit, the Bishop of Rome did not then determine the controversy which divided the Franciscans and Dominicans on this very subject? If this doctrine is true *now*, surely it was true *then*; if it is necessary to salvation *now*, it was necessary *then*; and if our blessed Lord has appointed the Bishop of Rome to be His Vicar

' At the fifth session of the Council of Trent in A.D. 1546: in the Bull of Pope Sixtus IV., A.D. 1483, it is candidly owned that the doctrine had not yet been decided by the Pope ("*nondum a Romanâ Ecclesiâ et Apostolicâ sede decisam*"). And even in our own days the present Pope, Pius IX., said in his letter dated from Gaeta, Feb. 2, 1849, that "a vehement *desire* had arisen in the Catholic world, that it *should at length be decided* by a solemn decree of the Apostolic See, that the Blessed Virgin was conceived without original sin;" and he made this dogma to become "an Article of Faith" on the 8th of December, 1854.

on earth, would He not have declared the truth of the doctrine then, and have put an end to their angry debates ?”

“But,” said he, “the time *had not then arrived* for the declaration of the doctrine. Do you not know what Vincentius Lirinensis says, that the Church teaches ‘non nova, sed novè ?’ ”

“But this dogma is *novum* : it was never made an Article of Faith before, as it is now by the Church of Rome.”

“It is only a *development* of what was old.”

“Pardon me, it is a *new* heresy, *opposed* to the old faith. The *old faith* is, that Christ *alone* was conceived and born without sin ; and this new dogma is a *contradiction* of the old faith : and this your theory of development, as you are aware, though patronized in modern times by some of your learned divines, especially in England (who perceive that Rome teaches much that is *new*, and that they must devise some theory to account for it), was strongly censured by one of your greatest theologians, Bossuet, writing against the Calvinist Jurieu, who had broached that same theory of Development.”

"But Bossuet is not an authority with us now."

"No: though unity of teaching is professed by the Church of Rome, yet her doctrines and opinions change from time to time. Bossuet was honoured once, and the theory of Development was proscribed: but now the theory of Development is adopted, and Bossuet is in disgrace."

"Well, but what principle of belief have *you* Protestants? Where is your *norma fidei*? The Bible, and the Bible only, I suppose, interpreted by every man, woman, and child as they like best."

"Yes,—the Bible is our rule of Faith; but *not* the Bible interpreted by every man according to his own caprice: the Church of England declares in her sixth Article that the Holy Scriptures are her *Rule* of Faith, but she also says in her twentieth Article that '*the Church*, i. e. the *Universal* Church, *not* the Roman, has authority in controversies of faith;' and, in fact, she sets before her people in her Liturgy the three Creeds as her doctrinal standard, and as an *authoritative interpretation* of the Bible, in matters of Faith."

"But this is not the opinion of most Protestants with whom I have conversed."

"But, my dear sir, it is the doctrine of the *Church* of England, which does not content herself with what is *negative*, but she has her *positive* side also. She is Protestant in contending against the errors of Rome, but she is Catholic in maintaining the truths of Christianity. And she *is Protestant because* she desires to be *Catholic*."

He seemed surprised at this, but rejoined by a reference to the Gorham case, where, he said, it was declared by the Church of England that a minister of the Church might deny the necessity of Baptism.

"No: the Judges in that case did not claim any *authority to determine* articles of faith; but they claimed authority to decide whether or no such or such a tenet was reconcileable with the *received doctrines* of the Church of England; and they said that in their opinion the disbelief of the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism did not disqualify a person for having the cure of souls: but they did not and could not touch the Book of Common Prayer; which every one, who has cure of souls, is obliged to

use, and which plainly teaches the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism. And how many errors does the Church of Rome not only tolerate, but *enforce* ! ”

The steamer arrived at a small town on the banks of the Lake: we exchanged a friendly farewell, and he went on shore.

We passed William Tell's Chapel, and reached Fluellen, at the head of the Lake, in the evening; glorious scenery,—mountains going down precipitously into the waters: the hill-sides variegated with beautiful green patches of meadow grass, sprinkled with pastoral huts: fine timber trees, especially firs of every variety of colour, and the meadows running up to peaked limestone-rocks—snow lying in their recesses—and streams dashing down from them in cascades.

In the evening heard the church-bell ringing; went at half-past seven P.M. to the small church at Fluellen, a simple and rather pretty building, with steeple and tall slim wooden spire. Church quite full of peasants: this on a week-day. The church adorned in rather a tawdry style; a good deal of tinsel and artificial flowers, especially on the altar, where stood

an image of the Blessed Virgin in a fine white muslin dress.

The priest, accompanied by two little boys, went up to the altar; unlocked the ciborium, took out the host in the ostensor, presented it to the adoration of the people, and then went to a side-altar; lighted up the candles, and knelt before it with his back to the people; on each side was one of the little acolytes kneeling by him; and began the prayers; a Litany in German: the women were kneeling on the north side of the church; the men on the south: all in open benches, no chairs: the responses hearty and full. Why should not the peasantry of our English villages be led to show the same earnestness in devotion—even on week-day evenings? I followed the priest to his lodging, and he kindly invited me to enter: asked him some questions about the service. He said it was the "Rosary of the Blessed Virgin," the same as in the Roman Office, but not in Latin, but German; and this, he said, is used every evening in this month (May), being "the month of Mary."

The priest seems to be much respected and loved by the people. I heard him spoken of

in high terms; and observed that, as he went home from the church, in his alb and black cap, the little children ran up to him to touch his hands, and the people all took off their hats.

The efforts of the Swiss and German *Reformers* are perhaps seen in some respects to more advantage in their effects on the *Roman Catholic* congregations, than in the *Protestant*. They extorted from the Papacy the use of some prayers in the mother tongue, and thus they gave an impulse, such as we have seen to-day, to the devotion of the people. Would to heaven that the Reformation could have proceeded *in* the Church, as it did in England, instead of *outside* it and *against* it! Here is a practical lesson for Church Reformation in Italy. If the Church of Italy is to be reformed, it must be reformed from *within*: it must *reform itself*.

Sunday, May 18th.—Awakened by bell for Mass at half-past four in the morning; another Mass at half-past five; another at half-past nine (high mass); the church crowded; the music rather operatic: after the mass, a procession, with the host carried round the church; images borne before, and banners.

No one scarcely beside the priest *receives* at *high* mass; but many receive at the low masses, early in the morning.

Walked to Altorf; entered a farm-house: over the door was a little picture pasted up with an inscription in German, "O Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us, who resort to thee for help." Fine church: good peal of bells: vespers: large congregation of women: few men: none of upper class. The priest, after reading a few words, and giving a short exposition from near the steps of the altar, went up into the pulpit, and delivered a sermon in German, on the life and character of the Prophet Daniel, rather diffuse; it comprised a summary of the history

1. Of Susannah; and Daniel's judgment upon her case.

2. The three children cast into the furnace at Babylon.

3. Of Nebuchadnezzar's dream; of the four successive great Empires of the world; and of the kingdom of Christ;—with practical applications on each head.

The manner of the preacher was animated; his descriptions graphic, e. g. of the Babylonian

monarch's feathers and claws, which he represented with much liveliness of gesture; but, notwithstanding his efforts, many of the congregation were asleep. It was a very hot day.

An Italian family at the hôtel at Flüellen just come from Rome: one of the ladies said that some hundreds of bishops had already arrived at Rome for the canonization of the Japanese Martyrs, which is to take place there on Whitsunday next (June 8th), and that vast preparations were being made in the Church of St. Peter's for the ceremony. "Ma," said she, "guastano S. Pietro," "they are spoiling St. Peter's by the huge apparatus of wood-work, &c., and there will be so many candles blazing in the church that who knows but they may set it on fire?"

There seems to be a good deal done for instruction in these Swiss villages; the schools are free, endowed by the Commune; almost all children between seven and fifteen go to school; the boys are superintended by a priest, the girls by some religieuses.

Monday, May 19th.—Left Flüellen at five in the morning: by Post across the *Mount*

St. Gothard pass, over the Alps to Italy. The road runs by the side of the river *Reuss*, which flows down into the Lake of Lucerne, and tumbles down over rocks, and is crossed ever and anon by picturesque stone bridges. Woman with *goître*, one of the first signs of the Alps. “*Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus*?” Passed through Waas; halted at Amsteg: romantic *châlets*: the pine planks of which they are built take a fine rich mellow reddish colour: open galleries, with stone staircase, and overhanging roof of rough stone slabs. The morning was rainy, but it cleared up as we ascended the pass. Below the road in the valley were rich green pastures, which contrast in a striking manner with the savage character of the scene. It resembles the pass of Tempe, with its steep overhanging crags. Goats were climbing about the rocks, and browsing on the low shrubs; also pretty, small dun cows, like Alderneys; and very ungainly-looking, thin, brown, almost yellow, pigs. By the side of the road were a great many wild flowers now in bloom, coronella, eyebright, wild strawberry, heartsease,

* Juvenal xiii. 162.

forget-me-nots, deep blue gentianella, lilac-coloured auriculas, ferns, and beautiful Alpine roses with pink flowers. These continued to grow almost to the summit, when we entered the region of ice and snow. We seemed to pass through all the seasons in this day's journey.

Crossed the "Devil's Bridge." Here the sublime grandeur of the scenery, the deep, dark ravine, the rushing river dashing in cataracts, the solitary and awful majesty of the mountains and rocks are beyond all powers of description. In their presence, Man and Man's works seemed to dwindle into nothing; and yet in this sublime wilderness Man's hand makes itself felt; there is the bold adventurous road like a living thing running with daring enterprise along the brink of the precipice⁹, and leaping with an airy

⁹ A frightful accident occurred a short time after we crossed this pass. About two miles below the "Ponte del Diavolo," at a bridge called Sprenki, the horses of the Diligence took fright, and the Diligence was hurled down nearly three hundred feet into the abyss below the road, and was shattered to pieces; one of the travellers in the Diligence (there were three beside the conducteur), an Italian gentleman (Cavaliere Magenta, Prefect of Bologna), was killed.

bound by the hanging bridge over the dark gulph below it; and there is also the long and almost interminable line of the Electric Telegraph flying from one lofty pole to another, and running on for many a mile in its unwearied course, and wafting in a few minutes over this lonely mountain-pass the news of Italian conflicts or counsels to the valleys of Switzerland and to the Capitals of France and England.

Halted again at Hôpital : thence the ascent was still more steep, and the scenery even more stern, the temperature more and more cold. At last we reached the top of the pass,—a wide flat covered with snow, and large ponds of blue ice (this on the 19th May); and the snow, mixed with a drizzle of rain, fell on us as we crossed it.

Thence the road descended at a rapid rate : and we travelled down its windings at a quick trot; our driver spun us round the corners of the zigzag road with wonderful ability, seeming much to delight in his own skill, and with an enthusiasm something like that of the ancient charioteers in the Circus, who have furnished

materials for so many fine passages to the ancient Poets¹.

Passed through Airolo to Faido, where we slept.

Tuesday, May 20th; Faido.—Started at four o'clock in the morning for Bellinzona. The moon shed its silver light upon us while the rest of the landscape was in dark shade. Mulberry-trees (*gelsi*) by the road-side, and many other signs that we were now coming to “*il bel paese, ove il si suona.*” Fine Spanish chestnuts, walnuts, pears, in the meadows and orchards, and yellow broom in flower. The soft fiery glow of the summer light of the rising sun gilded the snow on the mountain-tops in the horizon.

Next we come to the region of vineyards; vines trellised upon *pergole*, forming a beautiful shady arbour, and realizing the Scriptural description of the happiness of Solomon's age, when every man “dwelt under his own vine²,”—an expression not very intelligible to those who

¹ e.g. Virgil's *Georg.* iii. 103,—

“Nonne vides, cum præcipiti certamine campum

Corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus?” &c. &c.

² 1 Kings iv. 25.

only see vines trained against a wall, or in a hot-house. Here also we came to the land of Churches with tall bell-towers (*campaniles*), with pierced windows; and here and there were open Chapels at the road-side with paintings in fresco. One of these Chapels had a picture of the crucifixion, and of St. Augustine and his mother Monica,—suggestive of recollections of his sojourn at Milan. Passed a Cemetery walled in, with an inscription over the gate, “*Beati qui in Domino moriuntur*³.” None of the Churches had churchyards. This is a great loss. Ugo Foscolo somewhere describes his pleasurable emotions at seeing an English churchyard: and certainly this union of the dead with the living in connexion with the Church serves to keep alive the feeling of the communion of saints,—

“One family we dwell in Him;
One Church above, beneath,
Though now divided by the stream,
The narrow stream, of Death⁴.”

In the fields by the road-side men were gathering mulberry-leaves from off the trees,

³ Rev. xiv. 13.

⁴ Charles Wesley.

and packing them in sacks for the silk-worms (*bachì di seta*); the trees when stripped looked dead and bare and dry, like skeletons. For some years past the silk-worms of Lombardy have been suffering from a disease, of which no one seems able to discover the cause or the remedy. This has affected not only the market of silk, but has also much injured the proprietors of mulberry-trees, the demand for mulberry-leaves being much diminished, and their price reduced.

Halted at Bellinzona, the capital of the Canton of Tessino, an interesting old town, partly Swiss and partly Italian, with a middle-age Castle. Thence through the plain by the side of the Ticino (memorable for the campaigns of Hannibal) to Magadino on the Lago Maggiore: at Magadino found a steamer, ready to convey us down the lake to Arona.

The course of these steam-boats is very convenient for those who have leisure, and who wish to see the adjacent country; they cross, and recross, from one side of the lake to the other, in order to take in passengers from the different towns on the banks.

We crossed from Magadino to Locarno. A grave-looking priest in the steamer told me that the deputies of the Canton of Tessino were then holding their sittings at Locarno, where he landed. These Swiss legislators are rather afraid that the Italians will be desirous of absorbing their canton into the kingdom of Italy. He thought that the hopes of Italian *unification*, as it is called, with a capital at Rome, were illusory. The States of Italy, he said, had never been united, and never would be. And as for the surrender of the Pope's temporal power—all good Catholics, he conceived, would be opposed to such a measure as “contro i sentimenti cattolici.”

He asked me by what route I had come into Italy. I was rather amused with the terms in which he spoke of the scenery of the Alpine passes. It was “*orrida e selvaggia?*”—but this, it will be remembered, was the language of the Ancients concerning mountain scenery. Tempe was not “a pleasant vale” in their eyes; and the Alps were almost always described as stern, savage, and inhospitable, not only by ancient Poets, but by modern Tourists even to the

time of Burnet and Addison. The poet Gray was the first to discover the attractions of the Lake scenery of Westmoreland.

A peasant came into the steamer at Canobbio, and talked freely in a very different strain about the state of Italy. As to the "radunanza" of Bishops at Rome, the plea that it was for the Canonization of Martyrs was a mere pretext "pei ciechi," but "all persons," he said, "who had their eyes open, could see that it was a 'congiura contro le libertà Italiane.'" He had read Lord Palmerston's speech on Italian affairs, and all the lovers of freedom in Italy were thankful to England for the support she had given to their designs. He spoke of the recent attempt made by a party of Garibaldian volunteers to excite the population of the Tyrol and of Bergamo, Brescia, and Venetia, to rise against the Austrians, which might have suddenly involved the whole of this country in war.

On the 15th May, — last Thursday, — the Garibaldian commander, Colonel Nullo, was arrested at Palazzuolo, by order of the Turin Government (the King and principal ministers were absent at Naples), and with some other officers were conducted to the prison of Brescia;

on which the mob arose, and broke into the prison, crying, *Viva Garibaldi!* and the military fired upon them, and some were wounded, and two killed. Garibaldi has written a letter, dated Trescorre, 16th May, in which he identifies himself with the movement, and says that Colonel Nullo acted under his orders; and in another letter, written on Sunday last, he protests against the cruelty of the Government and the army which perpetrated the "strage di Brescia."

It was a beautiful afternoon, and we had a good view of the Lake and surrounding scenery; —passed by Isola Bella, and came in sight of the colossal statue of S. Carlo Borromeo at Arona.

We landed at Arona, and took the train to Novara, memorable for the battle fought on the 23rd March, 1849, between the Piedmontese and Austrian armies. The Austrians numbered 80,000 men, and 200 pieces of artillery: the Sardinian force did not amount to more than one-half that of their opponents. After a courageous struggle, the King of Sardinia, Carlo Alberto, was defeated by the veteran Austrian general Radetzki, and

lost 4000 men, and 6000 more were wounded. At fall of night the King summoned his generals, and in their presence, and in that of his two sons, the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Genoa, announced to them his resolution to abdicate his throne, in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel, then Duke of Savoy; and immediately, accompanied by a single servant, he quitted Italy for ever, and retired to Portugal, where he died on the 13th July, 1849.

The Stoics of old, such as Cato of Utica and Brutus on the plains of Philippi, took refuge in death, when they were worsted in the field. The Kings of Sardinia have often put an end to their troubles by abdication. Amedeus VIII. abdicated the throne in 1434, Victor Amedeus in 1730, Charles Emmanuel IV. in 1802, Victor Emmanuel in 1821, Carlo Alberto in 1849. The House of Savoy has been distinguished by physical courage, allied to a gloomy piety, bordering on fatalism and fanaticism. When fortune is adverse, there is something attractive to certain temperaments, in the change from a crown to a cowl, and from a throne to a cloister. The struggles of life require more

moral courage than the conflicts of the field.

From Novara we passed over the plain of Magenta, close to the field of battle: a soldier in the train pointed out a place where, he said, 2000 bodies were buried: a white column marks the spot where General Espinasse fell. It is impressively solemn and awful to be suddenly brought from the bustle and stir of railway excitement, to such a spot as this—

“With such vast hoards of hidden carnage near,
And horror breathing from the silent ground.”

The Austrians left 6000 men killed or wounded on the field. The Italians and French had about 4000 killed or wounded; and they lost fifty-two officers.

After the battle, the Austrians evacuated Milan; Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III. entered the city in triumph; and the former was proclaimed “King of Italy.”

The battle was fought on the 4th June, 1859.

We arrived at Milan on the evening of Tuesday, May 20th.

CHAPTER III.

MILAN.

Milan, Wednesday morning, May 21st.—Went to the Duomo, or Cathedral. Externally it looks too much like a work of Sculpture rather than Architecture, and the eye is fatigued with its pinnacles and statues—the latter are said to be 3000 in number. It wants chiaroscuro; and some of its details, especially in the façade, and the Roman erection or the roof of the nave, greatly impair the effect. But who can describe its interior? After the light and somewhat tawdry decorations of many other continental churches, this magnificent Cathedral, especially when entered from the subterranean passage which leads from the Archbishop's palace, produces a powerful impression on the mind, by its vast size, its lofty proportions, its solemn gloom and sublime grandeur, and the rich hues of its

stained glass windows. It seems as if the ancient spirit of religion, such as dwelt at Milan in the days of S. Ambrose, loved to linger here. The inscription which is conspicuous on the Rood-loft, "Attendite ad PETRAM unde excisi estis¹," pointing to Christ (and not Peter) as the true *Rock* of the Church, is very significant. There are side-altars, but not prominent as in many churches. At the east end of the church are large and lofty windows of stained glass (some of them recent, by Bertini), representing a series of subjects from the Old and New Testament: singular enough, one of the windows is filled with a vast number of pictures from the Book of Revelation, delineating the divine judgments on the mystical Babylon, "the city on the seven hills²." The windows, which have been replaced by these modern works of art, were shattered by the cannonading which announced the coronation of Napoleon I. as King of Italy on the 26th May, 1805.

There is no screen to the choir. The noble, spacious *ambons*, or pulpits, at the

¹ Isa. li. 1.

² Rev. xvii. 9.

intersection of the nave and transepts, from one of which the Gospel and Epistle are read in the eyes and ears of the congregation, (would that they were read in their mother tongue!) are gratifying evidences of the ancient zeal of the Milanese Church for the Holy Scriptures, and for the instruction of the people in them. Then there is the peculiar Ambrosian ritual, which the Church of Rome has in vain attempted to extinguish (as she has extinguished all the local Breviaries of the *French* Dioceses, in order that she may substitute the Roman Breviary in their stead), and it remains a living proof of the ancient independence of the Milanese Church.

It is a remarkable fact, that the Church of *Milan* will not allow Priests of the *Roman ritual* to officiate at the high altars in her churches, nor to officiate on great festivals, and at some other ceremonies,—especially offices for the dead,—except under urgent necessity³.

Besides these local privileges, we must not forget the Catechetical teaching instituted

³ See the "Cerimoniale Ambrosiano," Pt. i. p. 71, ed. 1858.

by S. Carlo Borromeo—who was born in 1538 at Arona, and made Archbishop of Milan in 1560—which is still conducted with great spirit in this cathedral every Sunday, and is another proof of the religious vitality of the Church of S. Ambrose.

But what is the present condition of the Church of Milan?

A short time before the Austrians were driven from Milan, in 1859, the Archbishop of Milan, Monsignor Romilli, died, and the Emperor of Austria nominated Monsignor Ballerini as his successor. But this nomination did not take effect, and the Arcivescovado, or Archiepiscopal palace, is now occupied in part by Canons of the Cathedral; the grass is growing in the courtyard; and that noble building presents a desolate appearance. The See of Milan being vacant, the Chapter of the Cathedral chose one of their body, Monsignor Caccia, to act as Vicario of the Archbishop. In the “*Calendarium Ambrosianum*” for the present year,—which is put forth by his authority,—he is described by the title of “*Eccl. Metropolit. Primicerius, et sede vacante Vicarius Generalis Capitularis.*”

He is also "Bishop of Famaugusta, domestic Prelate of the Pope, and an assistant at the Pontifical Throne."

But Monsignor Caccia has also quitted Milan, and resides at Monza; and now the See of S. Ambrose is without a Bishop; and the province of Milan, which contains many Suffragan Bishops, is without a Metropolitan. The people of Milan are without a chief pastor. Ordinations and Confirmations are suspended; the body is without a head.

This state of things suggests many interesting reflections.

In *primitive times, the Clergy and People of a Diocese elected their Bishop*: and when the Empire became Christian, the Emperors exercised great influence in the appointments of Bishops. The Bishops of each Province, when elected by the Clergy and People, and approved by the Crown, were *confirmed* by the Metropolitan of the Province, and were *consecrated* by him, and by two or three other of the Bishops of the Province. But in early times the Bishop of *Rome* had no voice in the matter, except with regard to the Bishops of the *suburbicarian* churches, i. e. those who had

Sees in the neighbourhood of the *urbs* or city of Rome ⁴.

In course of time the Emperors assumed to themselves almost the exclusive share in the nomination and investiture of Bishops, to the prejudice of the ancient elective rights of the Clergy and People.

In the seventh and three following centuries the Emperors of the East, and after them the Emperors of Germany, had considerable influence, not only in the election of other Bishops, but even in the appointment of the Popes of Rome. But Pope Gregory VII., Hildebrand, *on the plea* of restoring to the *Clergy* their ancient rights, contested the question of *investiture* with the Emperor Henry IV., and succeeded in wresting it from him, A.D. 1074.

The Pope deprived the *Emperor* of that power, by the aid of the *forged decretals* of the Roman Canon Law; and having succeeded in doing so, the Pope and his successors next directed their efforts against the *Clergy and People*; and, first, by influencing elections of

⁴ Evidence will be given hereafter in proof of these statements.

Bishops by threats or promises, and by concentrating those rights in capitular bodies, (which, from the fewness of their members were more easy of control,) they at last transferred virtually the nomination of all Bishops to *themselves*.

They impaired the power of the Archbishops, or Metropolitans, of the several Provinces of Christendom by authorizing *appeals* from their jurisdiction to the Court of Rome; and by sending Papal Legates from Rome to supersede their authority; they enforced *celibacy* on the Clergy, and thus weaned their affections from the family and the State, and absorbed them into the Papacy; and they multiplied their own spiritual militia of the *religious orders*; and they imposed on all Bishops, at their consecration, a *new* form of *oath*⁵, by which they withdrew them from allegiance to their Sovereigns, and bound them as Vassals to the Roman See. This oath may be seen in the "Pontificale

⁵ Under Gregory VII. (A.D. 1074); enlarged by Paschalis II. (A.D. 1099—1118), and still further by Gregory IX. (A.D. 1227—1241), and Clement VIII. (A.D. 1592—1604).

Romanum," printed by authority at Rome, ed. 1818, p. 62. By it the Bishops bind themselves "to persecute and impugn all heretics and rebels against their Lord the Pope," and to maintain the "royalties of Peter"—i. e. the power claimed by the Pope—against all men. Thus the Popes extended and strengthened the foundations of that universal spiritual empire, which held the world beneath its sway.

The Council of Bâle, in 1433—1436, struggled against these Papal usurpations, as has been already observed, and endeavoured to restore the right of election to its ancient, lawful possessors; and the Pragmatic Sanction at Bourges, in 1438, gave a civil as well as ecclesiastical support and authority to its decrees⁶. But in 1516, as has been before

⁶ The salutary effects of the Pragmatic Sanction are thus described by Monseigneur De Pradt, i. p. 203: "*La pragmatique rétablit les élections (des évêques) avec l'institution par le Métropolitain et ses comprovinciaux; elle débarassa la France des exacteurs de Rome; en maintenant l'ancien ordre des institutions épiscopales elle pourvut à ce que les églises ne restassent point sans pasteurs, et les pasteurs sans églises, pendant ces longs espaces de temps où les concordats les ont fait manquer les uns des autres.*"

noticed, Pope Leo X. induced Francis I. of France to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction, and to accept an arrangement⁷, by which the King was to be allowed to absorb into himself the elective privileges of the People and Clergy, and the Pope was to swallow up all the rights of the Metropolitans, and to have the sole authority in the *institution* of Bishops; so that *no Bishop* should be thenceforth consecrated without the *permission of the Pope*. It was commonly said at the time that in forming this *concordat*, "the Pope and the King gave to one another what did not belong to them," namely, the rights of the People, Clergy, and Bishops, and even the sacred inheritance of Christ's Church.

Other sovereigns of Europe were beguiled by the Court of Rome, and imitated the example of Francis I.; and the influence of that Concordat is still felt in almost every part of the continent,—especially in Italy.

For ten years, from 1683 to 1693, the King of France, Louis XIV., had a severe struggle with the Popes, Innocent XI., Alexander VIII.,

⁷ A similar compact had been made between Nicolas V. and the Emperor of Germany in 1448.

and Innocent XII. The consequence of this conflict was, that not *one Bishop was consecrated in France during that time*, and at the end of it, viz. in 1693, there were no less than *thirty-five Bishoprics* vacant in France. By the Concordat, the Pope had been allowed to have a *veto* on the nominations of the King; and the Pope refused to give "institution" to the King's nominees.

Strange result ! Unhappy catastrophe ! A Pope and a King quarrelled, and the Church was not to have Bishops ! The People are to be left without pastors ;

"Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

In the year 1693 Louis XIV. (wishing to make use of the Papacy for a political purpose against England) made a humble submission to the Pope^{*}; and the Pope vouchsafed to give bulls of institutions to the French Bishops named by the Crown.

In the year 1801 Napoleon Buonaparte, then First Consul and President of the French Republic, endeavoured to restore the public

^{*} The letter of submission which Louis XIV. wrote to Pope Innocent XII., fell into the hands of Napoleon, who put it into the fire.—De Pradt i. p. 354.

profession of the Christian religion in France, and with this view he entered into negotiations with the Pope, Pius VII. He also, in imitation of Francis I., made a Concordat with the Papacy, first for France, and next also for "the Republic of Italy." He did *not* restore the rights of election of Bishops to the Clergy and People, but he claimed for himself the nomination of all Bishops in France. But in order that the Pope might support him in the exercise of this patronage, he conceded to the Pope a *veto on all his appointments*.

This, he afterwards said, was the greatest mistake of his reign—"La plus grande faute que j'aie faite, c'est le *Concordat*." He used this expression in the presence of the Duc de Rovigo and Monseigneur De Pradt, at the Trianon, in the summer of 1811: he repeated the expression several times (De Pradt ii. p. 497, 9). He had put himself in a false position. For he thus made the Papacy *necessary to himself*. He had not provided for emergency, in which the Pope might be at variance with the Crown, and might effectually show his hostility by *refusing* to institute any Bishop whom the Crown might nominate. The Pope

excommunicated Napoleon, then ⁹ Emperor, on the 10th of June, 1809. What then was to be done? Napoleon convoked the National Council of Paris in 1811. In the letter of summons to the Bishops, he expressed his regret that “the most *illustrious* and *populous* churches of the empire were vacant, because one of the contracting parties, i. e. the Pope, refused to give effect to the Concordat¹,” and “it was necessary,” he said, “to take measures to fill up the *vacant sees*; and if such measures were not speedily adopted, Episcopacy might become extinct in France and Italy, as was almost the case in Germany, where there were only eight Bishops².”

The Council of Paris consisted of more than a hundred Bishops, from France, Italy, and Germany. It was held in the Archbishop's Palace, under the presidency of Cardinal

⁹ He was crowned Emperor of France, December 2, 1804.

¹ The Pope professed a readiness to institute, but he would not insert the *Emperor's* name in the bulls of institution; he would not acknowledge his right to nominate, which was tantamount to *refusal* of institution.—See De Pradt i. p. 323; ii. 144.

² This letter is printed by Cardinal Pacca, *Memorie Storiche*, p. 530, ed. Pesaro, 1830.

Fesch. The Bishops had not been prepared by previous information and conference; and the excommunication of the Emperor by the Pope seemed to them to render an accommodation impossible; and after some turbulent scenes the Council was dissolved. But it was summoned again; and it adopted unanimously the following decree (on Aug. 5, 1811):—“That no Episcopal See ought to remain vacant more than a year,” and “that the Emperor of France should nominate to all vacant Sees, and request the Pope to institute his nominees; and that *if* after the expiration of *six months* the Pope refused to institute the Bishops nominated by the Crown, *then* the *Metropolitan of the Province* should give the requisite institution; and in case of *Archbishops*, under similar circumstances, the senior Bishop of the Province should give institution.” This arrangement was nothing more than what the *Pope* had *previously agreed to* in a paper drawn up at Savona, dated 19th of May, 1811³.

³ The paper may be seen in Cardinal Pacca's *Memorie Storiche*, p. 364, ed. Pesaro, 1830. See also De Pradt ii. p. 470.

The Council of Paris resolved that these decrees should be submitted to the Pope for his approval. In the event of the Pope's refusal to approve this decree, Napoleon declared his determination to return to the "Common law of the Church, by which the right of *institution* would *devolve* on the *Metropolitan*, *without* the *intervention* of the *Pope*; as the usage had been before the Concordat of Francis I. and Leo X.⁴" Alarmed by this declaration, Pius VII., in a brief dated 20th of September, 1811 (called "*Ex quo ad summum*"), gave his *consent* to *this arrangement*⁵; and in the beginning of the year 1813 (Jan. 25th) a new *Concordat* was drawn up and signed by the Emperor and Pope at Fontainebleau, in which the above-named decree of the National Council of Paris was inserted⁶. This Concordat extended not

⁴ De Pradt ii. p. 516. Monseigneur De Pradt was himself a Member of the Commission appointed to negotiate with Pius VII.

⁵ Which may be seen in De Pradt ii. pp. 507—514.

⁶ It is as follows :—"Les six mois expirés, sans que le Pape ait accordé l'institution, le Métropolitain, et à son défaut, ou s'il s'agit du Métropolitain, l'évêque le plus

only to the Archbishoprics and Bishoprics in France, but to those also in the *Kingdom of Italy*, with the exception of the *six suburbicarian* Sees, and ten others to be agreed upon.

Thus (says Monseigneur De Pradt, who was one of the members of the Council, ii. p. 481) Napoleon "solved the problem which Louis XIV., with Bossuet and the Parliaments of France, had been unable to solve; and the world beheld the remarkable spectacle of a military Conqueror who was resolved that the Church should never want Bishops, and that of a Pope who contended that the Church should be without Bishops," except at his own pleasure.

But the fortunes of Napoleon were then beginning to wane: and on the 24th of March, 1813, Pius VII. wrote a letter of recantation to the Emperor, in which he revoked his assent to the Concordat⁷ of Fontainebleau;

ancien de la province, procédera à l'institution de l'évêque nommé; de manière qu'un siège ne soit jamais vacant plus qu'une année."—Art. iv. of the Concordat of Fontainebleau, signed by the Emperor Napoleon and Pius VII. on Jan. 25, 1813.

⁷ The letter may be seen in Cardinal Pacca's *Memorie Storiche*, pp. 406—410.

and by the fall of Napoleon and the return of the Bourbons the Papacy was raised again to the same position which it had occupied in 1801^{*}.

It has retained that position till the recent campaign of Magenta and Solferino, which has been followed by the annexation of Lombardy, Tuscany, Naples, Sicily, and a large part of the Roman States (viz. the Legations of Romagna, Umbria, and the Marches), to the crown of Victor Emmanuel, now King of Italy.

Throughout the whole of the *Kingdom of Italy* no means now exist for filling up any vacant *Episcopal See*. Precisely the same difficulty has now arisen in Italy, as occurred in France under Louis XIV. in 1683, and under Napoleon I. in 1809. How will this difficulty be solved? Will Victor Emmanuel make a humble submission to the Pope, as Louis XIV. did? Or will he obtain from the

^{*} Louis XVIII. in 1817 accepted a Concordat, by which he agreed to return to that of 1516 between Leo X. and Francis I.; but this Concordat of 1817 has never been received in France by the Parliaments and Courts. —See Dupin, *Manuel du Droit Ecclésiastique*, 1844, p. 241.

Pope a Concordat like that which Napoleon extorted from Pius VII. at Fontainebleau in 1813? Neither of these results seems very probable. And even if *the Crown* should resort to one or other of these alternatives, will the Metropolitans, Clergy, and, above all, the People of Italy, consent to an accommodation by which their own ancient rights would be sacrificed? Or will the Crown, the Clergy, and the People unite in an earnest endeavour to ascertain their own relative rights and duties in this grave matter, according to the ancient laws and practice of the best ages of the Church?

These are important questions suggested by the present state of the Archiepiscopal See of Milan; and I have dwelt upon them at greater length, because the best interests of Religion are involved in them; and because the stability of the Kingdom of Italy may depend in great measure on their right and proper adjustment. The words of Monseigneur De Pradt, in his history of Concordats, deserve to be well weighed:—"The Episcopate is the pivot of the Clerical body: the Concordats have made the Pope to be the master of the

Episcopate, and of the Clerical body, through the Episcopate. And since the Clerical body,—by reason of the combination of spiritual with temporal matters,—is the pivot of the tranquillity of the State, hence it follows, that the Pope, by his influence over the Episcopate, is the arbiter of the peace of the Realm *.”

If the Throne of Italy is to stand, she must have a loyal Episcopate. But she cannot have a loyal Episcopate—no, she will have an Episcopate *opposed* to the Crown,—if the Pope is to have a *veto* on appointments to Italian Bishoprics; and if the Bishops of Italy are to take such *oaths* as he imposes upon them.

These questions call for a speedy solution. According to the ancient laws of the Church, as well as on principles of common equity and charity, no Episcopal See ought to be kept vacant above two or three months. At present, there is a violent struggle between the Papacy and the Crown, and it is daily becoming more fierce. On one side is the Papal Hierarchy, and on the other the

* Les quatre Concordats, i. p. 280.

Government and the People, and some of the Clergy. Religion suffers by this struggle: if it is prolonged, the People may lapse into irreligion, and if irreligion prevails, Revolution will soon follow. Many Bishoprics are now vacant in Italy. The Government is exposing itself to the charge of indifference to religion, by keeping those Sees void, and by sequestering their revenues. But if the vacant Episcopal Sees of Italy are filled up with loyal, learned, and religious men, then the Spirituality and Temporality would co-operate in harmonious efforts for the religious and secular welfare of the people. The importance of this question is placed in a still clearer light, when the *statistics* of the Italian Episcopate are examined. The Dioceses of Italy are *very numerous*: and wherever there is a Bishop, the Pope has now a person who is bound to him by oaths of allegiance, and who exercises an almost unbounded power over the Clergy. In Piedmont there are thirty-three Bishops, in Venezia eleven, in Lombardy five, in Tuscany twenty-one, in the old Ecclesiastical States seventy, in the Duchy of Modena eight, in Sicily and Naples one hundred and nine. If

these Sees were filled by pious, learned, enlightened, and loyal men, not trammelled by unrighteous oaths, but appointed according to the laws and usages of the ancient Catholic Church, Italy would rise to a position such as it has never yet occupied in the history of Europe and the world.

Since the above remarks were written, a calculation has been made, from which it appears that there are now (Nov. 1862) *no less than thirty-four Bishoprics vacant in the Kingdom of Italy.*

They are as follows :—

In Piedmont	7
Liguria	1
Sardinia	6
Lombardy	2
Parma	1
Tuscany	6
The Marches	3
Umbria	2
Naples, ancient Kingdom of	3
Sicily	3
<hr/>	
<i>Total Vacant Sees</i>	<i>34</i>

CHAPTER IV.

MILAN (*continued*).

Wednesday afternoon, May 21st.—At half-past two attended Vespers in the Cathedral. Canons about twenty in number came out of the Sacristy in procession,—attired in white, red, and green,—and went up to the raised stalls at the east end of the choir, where they seated themselves in a semicircle according to the usual ancient arrangement, the Bishop being supposed to occupy the seat in the middle of the apse. Few persons were present. A young priest with his “*Diurnum Ambrosianum*” in his hand, very reverent and attentive. There are four Canonries now vacant, and they cannot be filled up, because the *Vicario Capitolare*,—the deputy of the Archbishop,—will not give institution to the nominees of the Crown.

I procured a copy of the *Diurnum Ambro-*

sianum, and on comparing it with the Roman Ritual I observed many deviations between the two. Let me specify some in the ritual for the present month, May. The Roman Church has canonized two of her Popes, Gregory VII., and Pius V., and their festivals occur in May. That of Pope Pius V. is on the 5th of this month; and in the services appointed for that day he is lauded as "having discharged the duty of an *Inquisitor with inflexible courage*," and having "*crushed the enemies of the Church*," doubtless with reference to his conduct to Queen Elizabeth, against whom he issued a Bull of excommunication and deposition (on Feb. 24, 1567), commanding her subjects to rise up in rebellion against her.

Similarly Pope Gregory VII. is eulogized in the Roman Breviary on May 25th because "he strenuously resisted the Emperor Henry IV., and *deprived him of his crown, and released his subjects from their allegiance*'."

These words stand in the *Roman Breviary*, and are recited by her in her Churches at this

¹ The words in the Roman Breviary are, "regno privavit, atque subditos populos fide ei datâ liberavit."

day; it is clear from them that the Church of Rome has never renounced her claim to *de-throne kings*; and to *release their subjects from their allegiance*; on the contrary, she now worships as *saints* those Popes who asserted those claims, and who also put them in force.

On looking into the Calendar of the Milanese Church, I see no mention of either of these Popes. It is well known also, that many Roman Catholic Princes forbade these portions of the Roman Offices just specified, for these two festivals, to be printed in the Breviary used in their dominions. They were expunged from the Breviaries of Naples, Venice, Spain, and France. But it is very remarkable, that these very offices which were suppressed by Bourbon Princes, have now *re-appeared* in the Breviaries of *France*, under Napoleon III., the Sovereign of the popular choice! Popes of Rome are now eulogized in all the Churches of France for having deposed kings! The Church of Rome has had a *temporal* end in view, in supplanting and displacing all the national Breviaries of France, and in substituting the Roman Breviary in their

place. In her plea for "liturgical uniformity" there was a covert design for spiritual and temporal aggrandizement. She forgets nothing. With her, the acts of Gregory VII. and of Pius V. are as fresh as if they were done yesterday, and is it too much to say, that by eulogizing those acts annually in the house of God, she shows her desire that these acts may be repeated, and avows her own determination to repeat them,—whenever she may have the power to do so?

In the Milanese Calendar, the 5th of May is the day appointed for the commemoration of the Conversion of S. Augustine by S. Ambrose: how different are the emotions which are suggested by that event, from those which spring from a remembrance of the acts of Pope Pius V.! On the 25th of May, Dionysius Archbishop of Milan occupies the place which is given in the Roman Breviary to Gregory VII.

In the pontificate of Gregory XIII. (A.D. 1578—1585) an attempt was made by the Church of Rome to supersede all other Latin Liturgies by the Roman: and the Pope sent a brief to the Governor of *Milan*, in which he authorized him to have the *Roman* Ritual used

daily in any Church of Milan that he might choose. But S. Carlo Borromeo wrote two letters of remonstrance to the Pope in order to vindicate and maintain the independence of the Ambrosian Ritual.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that two years ago (1860) the Church of Rome took advantage of the vacancy of the See of Milan, and induced Monsignor Caccia to publish a new edition of the Ambrosian Breviary, "*juxta mentem Apostolicæ sedis*," and under the authority of the holy "*Roman Congregation of Rites*."

Besides this, the Church of Rome endeavoured to persuade some congregations of *regulars*, particularly the Barnabites, who serve the parish of S. Alexander at *Milan*, to adopt the *Roman* Ritual; but the popular feeling revolted against the usurpation. The "Ladies of the Sacred Heart" at Milan have also shown a desire for the introduction of the *Roman* Ritual instead of the Ambrosian; and it is evident that if Rome gains the mastery in the present conflict, the Ambrosian Ritual will disappear.

Yesterday (May 20th) the Chapter of the

Cathedral of Milan agreed to observe the national anniversary (Festa dello Statuto) of June 1, by a religious celebration in the Cathedral, notwithstanding the opposition of the Archbishop's *locum tenens*, the Vicario Capitolare, Monsignor Caccia, and notwithstanding the decree issued from the Roman Penitenzieria on May 18, 1861, which forbade all Priests to celebrate that anniversary.

Thursday, May 22nd.—This morning, when we were at breakfast at the Caffé Cova, some lads with muskets passed along the streets. On inquiring who they were, we were informed that they were some of the volunteers who had gone from Milan to join the standard of Garibaldi's corps in their rising against the Austrians. That enterprise, undertaken without the sanction of the Italian Government, ended in a collision between the Garibaldian Volunteers and the King's troops, and in the arrest of the Colonel of the Volunteers. But though this act of Garibaldi is freely censured by many as anarchical, and although it might have led to the sacrifice of many lives of youthful enthusiasts, and although it might have brought the Austrians out of the fortresses of Peschiera and

Mantua, with a tremendous onslaught upon the city of Milan, unprepared to resist them, yet the present Government does not seem to be disposed to act with much energy in the matter. Garibaldi has written a letter in which he makes himself responsible for the whole affair. Yet he is not censured by the Government. Indeed it seems to connive at his enterprises, and to tempt him on to other adventures of the same kind. How will this end? An Italian friend, who is very intimate with Garibaldi, said to me, "You know that among heathen nations there are some objects which the Priests *taboo*, and no one dares touch them; the People of Italy idolize Garibaldi, they have *tabooed* him, and no one ventures to touch him."

Our informant took care to complete his animadversion on the quixotic enterprise of Garibaldi, with a vehement expression of indignation against the conduct of the Priesthood under Austrian influence. "What do you think," said he, "of Priests refusing Absolution to Italian soldiers at Confession, unless they pledge themselves to desert the standard of the King of Italy?"

This is a true charge. The Italian Govern-

ment has instituted legal proceedings against Monsignor Canzio, the *locum tenens* of the Bishop of Bologna, for the circular which he has addressed to the parochial clergy of the Diocese, in which he enjoins them to make use of the Confessional as an instrument for exciting the soldiers to desertion; and similar measures have been resorted to against the Bishop of Fano for the same reason. The Italian Government ought not to be surprised by such acts on the part of Italian Bishops. The Bishops of Italy are bound by solemn oaths to "uphold the royalties of Peter" (i.e. the Roman Supremacy) "against all men," and to maintain the laws and canons of the Papacy. Among those laws and canons are some which distinctly assert that "all oaths, which are opposed to the interests of the Church of Rome, are *not* to be regarded as oaths, but as *perjuries*," and that "oaths of allegiance, which are prejudicial to the Roman See, are *not binding*."²

Such acts as those of Monsignor Canzio of

² See the Papal Canon Law, approved and published by its authority, Decretal Greg. IX., "De Jurejurando," Lib. ii. Tit. xxiv. Tom. ii. p. 358, ed. Lips. 1839. The whole of that title is very instructive.

Bologna, and of the Bishop of Fano, are mere *symptoms* of an inveterate malady: if the Italian Government would reach the *root* of the evil, must it not go far deeper than it is now doing? Ought it to prosecute Bishops of Italy for doing what in their conscience they feel bound to do? Ought it not rather to help them to *enlighten* their *consciences*, and make them sensible of the degradation to which they have been reduced by the usurpations of Rome? Ought it not to emancipate the Episcopate of Italy from the thralldom of its present dependence upon Rome, and to restore it to the spiritual freedom which it enjoyed in the fourth century?

I called on a distinguished Ecclesiastic, a Preposto or Rector of one of the principal parishes of Milan, and a member of the "Società Ecclesiastica" of Milan: he was sitting in his library, in his cassock, &c., and surrounded with books and papers. He favoured me with copies of the "*atti*," or proceedings of the Society, and at this and a subsequent interview he gave me all the information which I desired concerning its designs. Its history is important, as illustrating the present condition

and sentiments of an intelligent portion of the Clergy of this City and Diocese.

The "Società" was instituted in 1859; and as its "regolamento organico" declares, its design is "to promote among its members the cultivation of religious studies, especially those which have a practical influence on the social welfare of the people." Any ecclesiastic of the Diocese may be elected a member of it. It has a reading-room, where the members assemble from time to time for the reading of essays composed by themselves on subjects proposed, and for subsequent oral discussion of those subjects.

The meetings take place at intervals of at least three weeks, and their ordinary duration is two hours. My friend informed me that the Society consists of about two hundred members: of these four are Canons of the Cathedral (being one-sixth of the whole number of Canons); nine Rectors (Preposti) of City Parishes, being two-fifths of the whole number; forty-one Curates of the City; thirty-nine Rectors and Vicars of Country Parishes: very few members of religious *orders* belong to the Society.

It is a remarkable proof of the bitterness of party feeling now prevalent in Italy, that a Society so constituted, and having such objects in view, should have been encountered with much obloquy and opposition in various quarters.

The Ultramontane Journals in Italy, such as the *Armonia* at Turin, the *Difensore* of Modena, the *Osservatore* of Brescia, and the *Civiltà Cattolica* at Rome, have been loud and vehement in their denunciations of it. The latter, in its number for April last (p. 116), describes it as "a scandalous, schismatical, and revolutionary society, and as guilty of rebellion against the Pope and Holy Roman See." And in France the journal,—which has inherited the principles and spirit of the "*Univers*"—the "*Monde*," has described it as a "lodge of clerical freemasonry, in which the most ungodly machinations are concerted against ecclesiastical authority." The defamatory articles of this last-named journal (contained in its numbers of the 21st and 31st Oct., 1861) were made the ground of an action against it for libel on the part of the Society, and the editors of the paper were

condemned in February last by the "Correc-tional Tribunal of Paris" to a month's im-prisonment, and to pay 1000 francs' fine and costs.

Notwithstanding this, the Society has found a more formidable adversary nearer home, in the person of the present representative of the Archbishop of Milan, the Vicario Capito-lare, Monsignor Caccia.

Monsignor Caccia, in a letter to the Pre-sident of the Society, Giulio Ratti, Rector of the Church of S. Fedele at Milan, dated Monza, 9th Feb., 1862, expressed his regret that the Society had been formed, and his desire that it would dissolve itself.

To this letter the President replied, 14th Feb., 1862, with a humble petition that Mon-signor Caccia would examine the design and proceedings of the Society, and would afford it an opportunity of stating its cause; and if he approved its principles, would place himself at its head.

This reply brought another letter from Monsignor Caccia, dated Monza, 16th Feb., 1862, in which he reiterated his recom-mendation that the Society should cease to

exist. This requisition elicited a respectful expostulation from the Society. At its session of March 11, 1862, it declared that it has not infringed any law, civil or ecclesiastical; it does not disguise its "earnest desire," to quote its own words, "to see a *reconciliation* between the Clergy and the People, and between the Church and the State: it affirms that it maintains inviolate the principles of Faith and Obedience to the Gospel, and to the traditions of the Church, and to the higher powers, especially to the Holy See." And after a long discussion, it adopted the following resolution: "That for the reasons stated in the *processo verbale* of that session, it cannot comply with the declaration of Monsignor the Vicario Capitolare, recommending the dissolution of the Society, and desires that this resolution be communicated to him and each of its members."

The Vicario replied to this declaration by an intimation that he could not receive any deputation from the Society, unless it were commissioned to communicate to him the fact of its dissolution.

This letter was read at a meeting of the

Society held on the 7th of this month, when seventy members were present; but produced no other effect than that of a resolution that the Society should meet on the 7th of June, for the re-election of officers.

The Vicario has since rejoined (Nov., 1862) with a condemnation of the Society, and with a peremptory order for its dissolution.

I offer no comment on these circumstances, but recount them simply as reflecting some light on the present condition of the Church in this city. There is an unhappy schism, which is now rending the Diocese. A large and powerful portion of the Clergy are at war with their Ecclesiastical Superior, who has been driven from the city by the people³; and are divided from the rest of their brethren, some of whom have not scrupled to affirm that the ministrations of the Clergy of the "Società Ecclesiastica" are irregular and even invalid, and ought to be shunned by the faithful⁴.

My friend asked me whether I had seen a work lately published, entitled "Rinascenza Cattolica?" It is written by a distinguished

³ La Diocesi di Milano, p. 108.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 110, 111.

person, Mamiani, formerly Minister of Public Instruction. "You will see that it advocates free *election* of *Bishops* by the People and Clergy: this is our principle. The Clergy and People ought to be restored to their undoubted rights in the election of their Chief Pastors. We desire nothing new, but only to return to the ancient principles and practices of the Catholic Church."

I have been much interested by this volume, which is written in an attractive style.

The Author *imagines* himself to be a Roman Missionary of the Propaganda, who after ten years' imprisonment at Japan returns to Rome. He is brought in an English vessel, the "Isaac Newton," to Civita Vecchia, where he finds the whole city illuminated, and celebrating a festival. On inquiring the reason, he is told that the People are rejoicing at the election of their Bishop, which had taken place that morning. The Author takes his place in the railway train, and is told that Bishops are now chosen by the Clergy of their Dioceses; and that the former practice has been abandoned, according to which the elections of Bishops were governed by Concordats between

the See of Rome and the Courts of Italian Princes. He arrives at Rome, and is lodged at the Propaganda, which he finds greatly improved; he is astonished and delighted by the altered aspect of Rome; a fresh life has been breathed into it: its Churches, its Clergy, its Ritual are all animated by a new spirit; the Inquisition has been abolished; the Convents have been reformed; the temporal Power of the Papacy has been abolished; Rome has become the capital of Italy; the Italian Parliament meets in the Capitol; the State has been reconciled to the Church, and the Church is loyal to the State; and both co-operate in harmonious efforts for the public weal. The infidelity and immorality of the Roman priesthood, of which he draws a dark picture, and which had produced its natural fruits of unbelief and profligacy among the People, and of contempt and hatred of Christianity (pp. 113, 114), had been succeeded by a golden age of virtue and piety; and this series of beautiful pictures is completed by a sketch of a Bishop of Rome—such as Rome had in primitive times—who expresses the delight which he feels in being relieved from the weight of

secular cares which formerly oppressed him, and in being able to devote all his resources to the advancement of the divine glory by the preaching of the Gospel and the salvation of souls.

At the conclusion of his pastoral address, the Bishop of Rome is represented by the Author as no longer seated in his chair, but raised aloft on a golden cloud, from which he bestows a benediction on Rome and the world; the People of Italy kneeling before him receive his apostolic benediction; the air is filled with sweet fragrance, like the perfumes of Paradise; and the nations of the earth flock from the four quarters of the world with banners and colours flying, which they plant with enthusiastic joy on the hill of the Vatican.

This romantic vision of an imaginary future is one which fascinates many in Italy at this time. It may exercise a salutary influence, if it excites the desire, and if it creates the determination, to ascertain from the authentic records of Holy Scripture and primitive Antiquity what were the principles of the Christian

Church, and what was the condition of the Church of Rome in Apostolic times.

There is one question of great interest which the Author proposes to the Italian people. "Is it not derogatory to religion to say that the Christian Church must perish, if the Pope loses his temporal power, and becomes the subject of a king? The Christian Church," he says, "has her fixed dogmas and laws. Are *not national Churches*—each with their own Primates and Bishops—sufficient for their own spiritual existence?"

"We will not appeal to the Greek Church; which, except in one article, has preserved the primitive dogmas without any dependence on the Pope. The Latin Church herself has had many intervals when the Papal chair was vacant; did it then cease to exist⁵?"

Might not the writer have referred to the Church of Milan herself, in the best ages, when she was not subject to Rome?

My friend the Preposto said that he could not accept the Anglican doctrine that our Lord had *not* constituted One Supreme Visible

⁵ *Rinascenza Cattolica*, p. 160.

Head of His Church on Earth. *Some* Visible Head (he thought) was necessary, but this Head ought also to be chosen by the free suffrages of Christendom.

He said that the accounts given of the Church affairs of Milan in a book lately printed here, and entitled "The Diocese of Milan in the last fifteen years," ("La Diocesi di Milano negli ultimi quindici anni,") was written in a sober and earnest style, by a grave and religious person well acquainted with the history of the Diocese, and might be entirely relied on for veracity.

In the correspondence of Passaglia's journal, the *Mediatore*, for this month (May 1862, p. 637), that work is described as a "libro molto serio, ed importante, d'un interesse non solo locale per la Lombardia, ma generale par tutta l'Italia: parla di Gaisruck, di Romilli," (the former Archbishops,) "di Ballerini, di Caccia, del clero, dei riti, del popolo, delle curie," &c. I will say a few words concerning it.

The Author of this "History of the Diocese of Milan" begins his narration at the year 1847, when Count Romilli was nominated to the

Archbishopric by the Austrian government, and the nomination was approved by the Pope; the usual mode of appointment to Bishoprics in Lombardy at that time. Romilli succeeded Cardinal Gaisruck, who was much respected by the Diocese.

Romilli is described as a person of feeble character, and of no theological learning; and as allowing himself to be swayed by intriguing men, who governed the Diocese by means of spies and informers, and thus exercised a secret and mysterious influence, which made them dreaded by the Clergy.

“After the appearance of the Jesuits among us,” says the author, “a spirit of mutual distrust and constraint diffused itself in the Diocese. Espionage was made the instrument of ecclesiastical superintendence, and completed the work of diocesan disorganization; it was known in the remote corners of the Diocese, *who* was the unhappy priest that had accepted the office of being the spy of his brethren: and I know an incumbent who last year was on the point of resigning his benefice, because while he was receiving marks of seeming respect and affection from the

Ecclesiastical Court of the Diocese, that same Court kept a spy at his side, who was its agent of police for the district “.”

One of the prime agents of this Romilli was Taramella, a person of great subtlety and shrewdness, but of profligate life, and who, after a career of some years, in which he governed the Diocese by fear, was condemned to ten years’ imprisonment at Mantua for his delinquencies.

Taramella was succeeded in the administration of the affairs of the Arch-diocese by two other persons, who exercised a dominant influence over the Archbishop till the time of his death at the beginning of June, 1859; and one of these persons, Monsignor Ballerini, was nominated by the Austrians on the 4th June, 1859—the very day of the battle of Magenta—to succeed Archbishop Romilli in the see of Milan. On the 6th the Austrians evacuated the city: on the 8th Victor Emmanuel was in Milan. Ballerini has disappeared from public life. The see of Milan is vacant. Monsignor Casazza has been elected by

* *La Dissen.* v. V. anno, 1862, p. 55.

the Chapter of the Cathedral as *locum tenens* of the Archbishop; but lives at Monza.

It appears from the incidents related by the writer, that the Austrian policy has been injurious to the Diocese by its endeavours to exercise secular influence on the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Lombardy, and through them upon the Clergy; and by using them as its tools for political purposes. Austria has secularized the Spirituality, and has degraded the Episcopate and Priesthood in the eyes of the People, and made them and itself obnoxious to the Nation, and brought Religion into contempt, and thus prepared the way for its own downfall.

The writer deploras that the Clergy of the Diocese, having relied so long on the secular arm, have lost much of their inner spiritual life, and that now, when the Austrian Power has fallen, they do not find themselves in a condition to exercise their legitimate spiritual influence upon the people. Having been employed as Austrian agents of police, they now discover that they are not regarded by the people as Christian Pastors.

“What,” asks the writer, “is the present

spiritual condition of the Province of Milan? The Bishops are less united than ever. The Ecclesiastical authority is a lifeless skeleton: may the day arrive when it will be clothed again with flesh, and quickened with life! What is the religious life of the people of this Diocese? It ought to be animated with a religious spirit diffused from the heart of its Ecclesiastical ruler. But this it has not. It is like an old hollow tree which supports itself on the bark of its trunk, but has not altogether lost the beauty of its leaves. Instead of drawing life from its centre, it leans on its circumference; alas! if a hurricane should come and batter it with its fury.

“If the day should arrive (which Heaven forbid!) when the Catholic Faith should find in Italy only a tomb, what would be the inscription which succeeding ages would read there? ‘Behold here the end to which the Faith has been brought by the infatuated obstinacy of Rome and her champions.’”

There is another little volume lately published at Milan, which deals with an important Ecclesiastical question, and which has attracted much attention. It is entitled, “Il

Seminario di Milano e gli Oblati." It describes the unhappy condition into which the Episcopal Seminary of Milan for the training of Clergy has fallen, under the direction of the religious congregation called the "Oblati," to whom it was committed in the recent archiepiscopate of Romilli, who expelled, in 1853, sixteen of the former Professors from the seminary—some of them very able men, respected and beloved by the pupils,—but suspected of being too favourable to the cause of Italian liberty, in order to make way for the members of this religious congregation. The author is loud in his complaints of the incompetency and ignorance, as well as the bigotry, of these theological teachers, and of the evils thence resulting to the Church and to the country.

"It is a lamentable truth (says the writer'), attested by the unanimous voice of the Clergy and Laity, that the teaching of the Ecclesiastical Seminaries of Italy, for the training of the Priesthood, is in a deplorable state of decline." He appeals to the witness of the

' Il Seminario di Milano, p. 4.

Abate Gioberti, and Abate Rosmini, and Filippo Perfetti, and even to the avowal of the Ultramontane periodical, the *Civiltà Cattolica* of Rome. "The instruction," he adds, "is miserable, in regard to the subjects taught, the mode of teaching, and the quality of the teachers. The Seminary of Milan, in the Archiepiscopate of Gairsruck, was in a better condition than those of other Dioceses. But the events of 1848 and 1849, which excited a vindictive spirit in the hearts of the Austrian rulers of Lombardy, had a disastrous influence on the Seminary of Milan. The whole corps of professors was dismissed; and " (as has been before stated) "the Seminary was placed under the control of the Congregation above mentioned." He then cites the words of one of the best priests and wisest philosophers that Italy has produced in the present age, one whose piety and virtue are universally acknowledged, and who had great experience in teaching, who is now no longer living, Rosmini. "We have abandoned the study of the Scriptures and of the Fathers, and have declined to the age of those wretched text-books which are used in our seminaries, and which will one

day be regarded as the most trashy and repulsive compositions that have been produced in the eighteen centuries of the life of the Church; books without spirit, without principles, without eloquence, and without method."

"The biblical studies, which have made so much progress in other countries, are jejune, or rather null, in our Seminary. The reading of the Holy Scriptures is neglected; and the study of Church History is treated with indifference^a.

"In former days our young Clergy were nurtured under the eye, and beneath the roof of our Bishops; but now our probationers for the Priesthood see no one scarcely, and converse with no one, but themselves. They are shut up in the narrow cells of their own minds. They are under a rigid and heartless discipline of fear. They never attain to any noble spiritual elevation. They become mechanical, material, sensual. This for the most part is the condition of the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Milan, which contains 500

^a Il Seminario di Milano, 1862, pp. 18. 21.

students, the future teachers of the people; the priests of the Church of Lombardy.

“When they come in contact with the people, they will be unable to sympathize with them; the Clergy will be anti-social, and Society will be anti-hierarchical. Indeed these results are already visible: and when the Ministers of Religion are despised and detested, what will become of Religion itself? What will become of Society? Will it not be disorganized and desolated by the ravages of Democracy and Anarchy?”

The following words were written by a young student of the Seminary of Milan in the month of March in the present year: “Gracious heavens! to what a point are we hastening! to the terrible dilemma of either disobeying our superiors, or rebelling against our own consciences. We shrink from either alternative. . . . But in the mean while what is the Government doing? Does it now give a thought to us? We too are Italians; and the Municipality of the city is indifferent to our condition. If things go on a little longer as they do now, both the Church and the Country will rue it. The Church will have an incompetent

Clergy, hated by the People: the Country will be detested, betrayed, and assailed by the Clergy. Here are many, who, being beguiled by their superiors, deem it a conscientious obligation to rebel against the Government . . and they are doing it. Woe to those who will take no thought of these things till it is too late!"

The present Government of Victor Emmanuel is occupied with military preparations, and diplomatic negotiations; and as yet has paid little attention to the affairs of Religion and of the Church. It is much, however, to be hoped that it may assist the Church to remove the abuses which now impair her efficiency. A loyal and learned Episcopate and Clergy, freed from the trammels of the Court of Rome, might preserve the Country from the social dangers which now threaten it, and might effectually co-operate with the Government in consolidating the fabric of the State on the basis of true religion.

I called on an intelligent Italian layman, interested in Church affairs; he showed me a book of prayers compiled by the late Abate Misserini from Holy Scripture and the Ancient

Fathers. "Is this book popular?" I asked. "No." "Why not?" "The Clergy for the most part recommend another sort of Manuals of devotion. Here is one, which is very popular—the 'Filotea' of Riva, one of the confessors of the Cathedral; it is in the 13th edition, and sells by thousands. But look at it; it is a *libro fanatico*. Every disorder of every part of the human body has a Saint, to whom the patient may pray for a cure; and this little book is stuffed full of legendary fables, and draws the people off from sound religion to Superstition, and Superstition is preparing the way for Infidelity. When they find that a great part of their religion is false, they will soon come to think that none of it is true."

On returning to our hotel, found an Italian friend. He said that the hope of Reformation in Italy was from the People. "But why not," I asked, "from the Clergy also? Do you think that attempts at Reformation of a Church can prosper except they come from *within*?" "No: they must come from *within*, and they may come from the '*basso clero*' in Italy, but will *not*, I fear, come from the *Bishops*. The Austrians endeavoured to

rule us by means of the Papal Episcopate, just as the Normans tried to govern your Saxon forefathers by Norman Bishops; and the Bishops of Italy were the slaves of Austria and the Pope, in order to be the tyrants of the Clergy and the People."

I asked, why the Government of Italy did not proceed now, as our rulers did at the English Reformation, namely, by proposing this question: "Can it be proved from Holy Scripture and Ancient Christian Authors that the Bishop of Rome has any more power in a *foreign* state—such as the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel now is with respect to Rome—than any other Bishop has?"

"Oh! but (he replied) if that question were now put, the Bishops of Italy, being what they are, would all say *Yes*." "But could they *prove* it? Let the question be examined: let it be inquired, what power had the *Bishop of Rome in this city of Milan in the days of S. Ambrose*? Had he any voice in the election or consecration of S. Ambrose? No. Had he any jurisdiction over the Metropolitans of Aquileia or Ravenna? No. Had he any jurisdiction at Turin or Genoa? No. Let

the Church of Italy return to what she was in her most glorious times, and then the Realm of Italy will prosper—but not otherwise.”

“Ma ci vuol tempo,” he said, “and in the mean time a great deal is being done by the circulation of books which are preparing the way for Reformation. I have endeavoured to acquaint my friends in Italy with the contents of the English Book of Common Prayer. Hundreds of copies of the Italian Translation of it have been circulated, and it has been eagerly received by many. I lent a copy of it to a Priest who used to rail against England as a land of schismatics, heretics, and infidels, and he confessed to me that the Litany in that Book was the most beautiful form of Prayer he had ever seen. After the battles of Magenta and Solferino I was entrusted with the superintendence of the Military Hospitals; and I thought that I could not do better service to the poor wounded soldiers in those hospitals,—there were some of almost all European Nations,—than by supplying them with suitable forms of devotion in their own mother tongue. So I translated many of the Collects and Prayers of the English Prayer Book into

various languages, and put them into the hands of the soldiers on their sick beds in the wards of the hospitals. Almost all accepted and used them, and expressed the great comfort they found in them. Some of the Roman Catholic Clergy and Bishops who visited the hospitals were delighted with them, and I was warmly thanked for what I had done. They did not know *whence* the prayers came. Some thought they were my own; at last, however, it was discovered that they were translated from the English Prayer Book, and then one of the Bishops in my neighbourhood denounced them as heretical, and laid a complaint against me before the Government. But I did not mind that. The good had been done, though with some loss of friends and worldly advantage on my part, and I thank God for it, and know that He can reward me a hundredfold." He spoke these words with tears in his eyes.

"One of our great difficulties in Italy," he said, "is from the low origin and poverty of the Clergy, and from their want of learning".

⁹ There are a few exceptions. Monsignor Pietro Emilio Tiboni, formerly Professor of Hebrew and Theology in

They are almost all from the lower classes, peasants, or small shopkeepers. The people, especially in the towns, are *above* their teachers in intelligence: penury makes the Clergy dependent and servile, and tempts them to resort to low arts and shifts for a livelihood, or to superstitious tricks and impostures, and they have not the requisite knowledge to enable them to labour with success in the work of Reformation. Few of them have any collections of books. Many of the Bishops are of plebeian origin (there are some exceptions, the Bishops of Como and Bergamo), and when raised from humble estate to high positions in the Church, they are too often the worst tyrants of all."

An interesting work on the social and intellectual condition of the Clergy in Italy has lately been published by an able and thoughtful writer, Filippo Perfetti, entitled "*Il Clero e la Società*," in which he investigates the causes which have led to the degradation of the Clergy, and considers the means by which

the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Brescia, has published some very learned works, particularly his *Misticismo Biblico*, Milan, 1853.

they might be enabled to exercise their legitimate influence for the moral and religious benefit of the country¹. There is also a striking declaration on the part of a large body of the Clergy themselves, in a remarkable Address to the Pope which has lately been published at Naples, and signed by *many thousand Priests*. I will transcribe some paragraphs from it.

“Così basso è caduta la sublimissima santificatrice missione della Chiesa fino dall’ infausto momento in cui lo spirito del mondo potè sbalzar dal suo altare un tempo sì pieno di luce e di vita la Croce nuda del Cristo, per sostituirvi l’aureo simulacro del dio potere! *Si direbbe che in fatto di corruzione non si potesse andare più innanzi. Eppure in fondo a quelle piaghe, che sformano così orribilmente le divine sembianze della sposa dell’ Agnello immacolato, il popolo vede qualche cosa ancora di peggio, per cui è costretto di rivolger da quelle lo sguardo inorridito. Vede i santi ministeri della Chiesa, i suoi celesti conforti, i suoi riti più augusti e tre-*

¹ More is said concerning this work below, chap. xii.

mendi divenuti oggetto di sacrileghe speculazioni. Vede la Cattedra santa dell' Evangelo conversa in profana tribuna, in cattedra di pestilenza, dalla quale si predica la ribellione alle patrie autorità, rinfiammando odii sanguinari e fratricide passioni. Vede, e fa orrore a solo pensarlo, vede convertirsi i tribunali di grazia e di remissione in covi di raggiro tenebroso ed esservi perfino chi osa abusare di un così santo e pietoso istituto, col renderlo una requisitoria di polizia, in cui si promette oggi al penitente il perdono di Dio per darlo domani in poter del carnefice."

I asked my friend, "Will the Bishops of Lombardy go to Rome for the Canonization at Whitsuntide?" "No, they are afraid lest if they go they will not be allowed to come back." "But why does not the Government endeavour to come to terms with them? Why does it not attempt to conciliate them, or at least some of them? There must be some reasonable men among them." "Unhappily, the Government is 'poco curante' about religion. Our rulers suppose that they can govern without it, that they can keep the people in order by secular and material powers,

by an army and a police. This is our misfortune. Cavour's maxim was, 'Libera Chiesa in libero Stato.' A Church ought to be *free* to *do good*, and ought to be assisted by the State to *do good*; but a Church ought *not* to be *free* to *do evil*; and the Church of Rome, when she wishes to *do evil*, is sure to plead a desire to *do good*. She pleaded zeal for God's glory when she massacred the Huguenots. She is now pleading a desire to do honour to some holy martyrs, and sends for all the Bishops of Christendom on that plea, and commands them to leave their own flocks at Whitsuntide to wait upon her; but she has a *political* view and *secular* end in all this: she seeks to maintain thereby her own usurped power, by which she keeps the souls and bodies of men in chains. Therefore the maxim 'Libera Chiesa in libero Stato,' which sounds so plausible in theory, is really an illusion in practice. Men cannot do without Religion. No civil Government can subsist without a religious basis. All attempts to raise up States without religious foundations have failed. The Italians especially are a religious people. It is wonderful to see how strongly they are affected by reference

to the events of Sacred History. An orator the other day was making a funeral speech to the people on the soldiers who fell in Sicily, and compared Garibaldi to the sword drawn by the Angel against the host of Sennacherib. The comparison was received with an enthusiastic burst of applause: if he had compared him to Hector, Ajax, or Achilles, it would have fallen quite flat: the Italians love to think that they have Religion on their side. It is much to be desired that our Government would understand this, and then it might do any thing."

CHAPTER V.

MILAN (*continued*).

May 23rd.—Visited the Ambrosian Library. Found one of the Prefetti of the Library there, the learned ritualist, Dom. Giovanni Dozio, who has published some valuable treatises on the peculiarities of the Ambrosian Ritual.

His “*Cerimoniale Ambrosiano*,” published at Milan in 1853, is a learned and interesting work, and full of information concerning the history of that Ritual.

He had some volumes of Muratori and Mabillon open before him, together with some ancient MSS., and informed me that he was engaged in collating and verifying the cartularies and other documents cited by those Authors. I asked him whether S. Carlo Borromeo, who revised the Ambrosian Ritual, had

not made some modifications in it, as was done by Leo X., Paul V., and especially Urban VIII., in the Roman Breviary; and by the Archbishops of Paris in the Parisian Breviaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with a view of giving them a more classical tone and character, with the aid of Santeul, Charles Coffin, and others, whose Hymns have been adopted by some in our own days as Hymns of the *primitive Church*. He said that something of that kind had been done in the Ambrosian Liturgy; and put into my hands a volume published at Milan in the present year by one of his brother Prefetti of the Ambrosian Library, Dom. Biraghi, which is entitled “Inni Sinceri di Sant’ Ambrogio;” and in it the learned editor has endeavoured to restore the Hymns of the great Milanese Bishop to their primitive form. I procured a copy of this work at the Library, and have been much gratified by it.

It is one of the most favourable specimens of the theological learning which still lingers in the Diocese of Milan. The author of the recent History of that Diocese draws a very pleasing portrait of the piety, virtue, and

erudition, and public services of the revered Editor, and deplores, as one of the evil signs of the times, that such a person has been left to languish in obscurity¹. One of the unfortunate results which that writer laments as arising from the want of encouragement to theological studies, and the low tone to which the clerical character has been reduced, is, that many of the Clergy of northern Italy have renounced their ecclesiastical calling, and betaken themselves to secular pursuits. He states that in Piedmont such cases of defection are common, and expresses a fear that Italy may be degraded in this respect to the miserable condition of France, where more than a *hundred Clergy*, in *Paris* alone, are at this time engaged in *driving cabs*².

Ought not *England* to take warning from this example?

The Hymns of S. Ambrose have exercised a powerful influence on Christendom. They

¹ See the pathetic complaint in pp. 45, 46 of *La Diocesi di Milano*, 1862.

² *La Diocesi di Milano*, p. 52. I was assured by a learned Priest at Paris last year that this number is *below* the mark.

were designed by him to be a preventive against the errors of Arianism, and to confirm the profession of the true faith in the doctrine of the Trinity, and the divinity of Christ. Hence their doctrinal character. In a letter ^a to his sister Marcellina, S. Ambrose says that the Arians complained that he had bewitched the people of Milan by his poetry; and he speaks of the marvellous effects produced by it in recovering the multitude from heresy to the true faith. S. Augustine testifies to the potent effect of those hymns upon his own mind ^b after his baptism; and says that he was melted to tears by them in the Church at Milan. S. Celestine, the friend of Augustine, replied to the Nestorians by quotations from the Hymns of S. Ambrose. Isidore of Seville, and Bede in England, bore testimony to their influence in their age and country: very many of them have found a permanent place in the liturgy of the Western Church ^c.

On account of the celebrity of S. Ambrose,

^a Ambros. Epist. II.

^b S. Aug. Conf. II. c. v. & vi.

^c See Erasmus's preface to the Latin Version of Basil's Ambrosian. p. 4.

many Hymns have been attributed to him which are not his. And on the other hand, some critics have gone into the opposite extreme, and have deprived him of his property. In the Benedictine edition of his works only twelve Hymns are admitted, and Dom. Biraghi shows reason for believing that only seven of these are genuine. This learned Milanese theologian has therefore had a difficult task to perform, and he seems to have done it well. He has examined all the Hymns which are called "Ambrosian," and he states the grounds on which a hymn has been admitted or rejected by himself. Does it correspond in matter and style to the genuine hymns of S. Ambrose? Does it offend against the rules of prosody, which, for the most part, were carefully observed by S. Ambrose? Does it neglect *metre*, and adopt *rhyme*, which was never used by him? Does it find a place in the ancient liturgical service-books of the Church of S. Ambrose, the Church of Milan? Has it been ascribed to S. Ambrose by authors contemporary with him, or who lived soon after him?

The application of these criteria to the

Hymns commonly called Ambrosian, has resulted in the adoption of eighteen Hymns and four Poems as the genuine offspring of the great Milanese Bishop: these are Hymns for *Christmas Eve, Epiphany* (where he specifies Christ's *three* Manifestations, viz. to the Wise men, at His Baptism, and at Cana), *Paschaltide*; these three are admirable specimens—*St. John* the Evangelist's Day; on *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, in which he asserts St. Paul's equality to St. Peter⁶; for *Martyrs*; at *Cock-crow*; at *Daybreak*—a noble hymn, full of love and reverence for Christ the true Day-spring⁷; at the *third hour* on *Sundays*;

⁶ “Primus Petrus Apostolus,
Nec Paulus impar gratiâ,
Electionis vas sacræ
Petri adæquavit fidem;”

and so in his treatise on the Holy Spirit, lib. ii. ad fin.
“Nec Paulus inferior Petro.”

⁷ “Splendor paternæ gloriæ,
De luce lucem proferens,
Lux lucis, et fons luminis,
Diem Dies illuminans,
Verusque Sol, illabere,
Micans nitore perpeti,
Jubarque Sancti Spiritûs
Infunde nostris sensibus.”

at the *third hour* on other days; at the *sixth hour*; at the *ninth hour*; at *Evening*. On the Martyrdom of *S. Agnes* (a beautiful hymn); of *SS. Victor, Nabor, and Felix*, martyred at Milan; of *SS. Protasius and Gervasius*; of *S. Lawrence*, Archdeacon of Rome. Hymn to be sung by *Virgins*; Verses on the *Baptistery*; Epitaph on his brother Satyrus; on the Basilica Romana at Milan; Couplets on the paintings from the Bible, in the Basilica Ambrosiana.

The learned Editor favours his readers with a well-drawn character of the genuine Hymns of S. Ambrose, which, in these days when so much is written on Hymnology, may be interesting to many;

“S. Ambrose has a style peculiar to himself, clear, sweet, and yet vigorous, grand, and noble: wonderful closeness of thoughts; singular brevity of expression. In his Hymns he never allows himself to be led away by poetical prettiness, but loves sublime doctrinal verities; he soars aloft with a bold flight to the contemplation of the Ever-Blessed Trinity, the mysteries of Heaven, the divine morality of the Gospel; and prefers the vivid

and homely language of Scripture to a flowery and fascinating style.

“There are no glittering flashes; but his hymns beam brightly with a calm, severe, and spiritual enthusiasm: there is not much of tender sentiment, but there is the courage of the Cross, the power of Faith, the victory of the Gospel over the world. This being so, we cannot adorn with his name certain Hymns, which have indeed a religious sentiment, but are without vigour, without clear dogmatic views, without elevated thoughts⁸. He wrote his Hymns, not because he was excited by poetical fire, nor as an innocent solace and refreshment to himself, but in order to supply instruction, and minister wholesome spiritual food to the flock committed to his care. And he reaped the fruit of his labours, beyond his most sanguine expectations, as he himself testifies, and his biographer Paulinus records. The people of Milan, and a large part of the Western world, were rescued from Arianism and were confirmed in the faith, in no small degree, by the Hymns of S. Ambrose¹.”

⁸ *Inni Sinceri di Sant' Ambrogio*, p. 7.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 12, 13.

May not this fact be instructive to others? May it not remind us that Hymnology like that of S. Ambrose may be a very effective instrument in recovering modern populations to an intelligent appreciation and love of the doctrines of Christianity, and of the discipline, worship, and ritual of the Church?

Attached to the Ambrosian Library is a gallery of pictures; more interesting, I think, than the Brera. I was surprised to see no artists studying these beautiful works, or copying the pictures of this collection: there were only two so engaged in the Brera. "The young painters and sculptors are all gone after Garibaldi," was the explanation given by the *custode*.

Went from the Ambrosian Library to the Church of S. Ambrogio, the most interesting church in Milan for its antiquity. It was founded by S. Ambrose, and dedicated by him on June 19, A.D. 387². The present form of this Church is due to Ambrosius Anspertus, Archbishop of Milan in the ninth century;

² See S. Ambrose's Letter to his sister Marcellina, Epist. 22, and Biraghi, *Inni Sinceri di Sant' Ambrogio*, pp. 81—85.

but it was probably built upon more ancient foundations. Like S. Clemente at Rome, it is approached through an atrium, or open courtyard, or ante-temple, surrounded by a cloister on each of its four sides.

In these atria, in former times, the poor asked the alms of the faithful; here the penitents implored their prayers; here those who were under penance remained exposed to wind and rain, hence called “hyemantes,” and were not permitted to enter the doors of the sanctuary.

These ante-temples were used also in ancient times as places of interment, and the walls of the atrium of S. Ambrogio are encrusted with many sepulchral marbles having ancient inscriptions. I observed one which commemorates a certain *Satyrus*, an exorcist of the Church, whose name recalls that of S. Ambrose’s brother, who, as well as S. Ambrose, was a Governor of a Province; and to whom, after his own elevation to the Episcopate, S. Ambrose confided the management of his temporal affairs, and who is commemorated in one of the chapels of this Church. The inscription is,—

SATVRVS EXSOR
CISTA MARITVS
SE VIVVM CONT.
VOT. POS.

DEP. DIE
XVII KAL
M. IAN

• • •
FILIA EORVM

Some of the Inscriptions are in *Greek*, mixed with Latin, e.g.—

B. M.
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ (i. e. κεῖται) ΕΝ
ΕΙΠΙΝ (εἰρήνη) Ο ΚΑΛΟ(ς)
ΚΥΜΗΤΟC BACCOC

and I observed one in *Hebrew*, with the emblem of the seven-branched candlestick.

In the nave of the Church of S. Ambrogio is a very interesting *ambon*, or large pulpit, of marble, where the reader in ancient days stood to read the Gospels and Epistles to the people; here they would be well heard. Sermons were usually preached from the steps of the altar. The *ambon* is very spacious, and might have served also, as such places usually did, for the Canonical Singers of the Church.

It is adorned with an ancient bas-relief, representing an *agape* or love-feast, such as is mentioned in the New Testament by St. Paul and St. Jude ³.

In ancient churches there were usually *two* ambons, that on the north for the reading of the Gospel, that on the south for the Epistle and for other lessons of Scripture. S. Carlo Borromeo gave direction that there should be two such ambons in all the Churches of his Diocese; the ambon for the Gospel was to be the higher of the two ⁴.

In the *earliest* liturgical writings the *south* side of the altar,—or the side on which the Epistle is read,—was usually called the *right* side; and the *north* side, or that on which the Gospel is read, was called the *left* side. But at the end of the fifteenth century an alteration was made by *Romish* liturgical writers—such as Patrizi and Marcello—in the language of the Church in this respect; and since their time the *north* side has been called the *right* side; and the *south* side is termed the *left*; a

³ 1 Cor. xi. 20—23. Jude 12.

⁴ Cerimon. Ambros., p. 72.

remarkable change, which arose from the practice of having Crucifixes upon altars, and from the reference of its bearings to them: "*nam crucifixi super ipso stantis dextera ad cornu evangelii vergit* ⁵."

This Church is full of records of S. Ambrose. It was founded by him. We cannot believe the story that its doors are those which he closed against the Emperor Theodosius, after the massacre of Thessalonica (A.D. 390), but they serve to remind us of the fact. There is an ancient portrait of him on a pilaster of the Church opposite the ambon. The mosaic over the altar in the choir represents the Saviour in glory, with a Greek Inscription, "Jesus Christ the King of Glory,"

IC XC O BACH-
-ΛΕΥ TIC
ΔΩΖΗΣ

I have copied the *errors* exactly. SS. Gervasius and Protasius are at his side, and supply another reminiscence of the history of S. Ambrose. The bodies of those saints and martyrs were discovered A.D. 386, in times of

⁵ Grassi in Cerimon. Ambros., p. 71.

trouble and persecution for the true faith in our Lord's Divinity, and were interred in his Basilica; and it pleased God to work a miracle in behalf of the truth for which they suffered, to which S. Augustine, then at Milan, has borne witness⁶, and also S. Ambrose himself in a Hymn⁷ written by him on that occasion. In the choir are ancient mosaics representing events in the life of S. Ambrose, and in the apse behind the altar is an ancient marble chair for the Archbishop of Milan, and on each side of it are stalls for the Canons, who occupy the places of the Suffragans of the province. Near them is a representation of the Baptism of S. Augustine, which took place on Easter Even, the 24th April, A.D. 387, in the Baptistry which was near the greater Basilica, within the walls of the city, to the south of the Basilica of S. Thecla. There is also a Lectern, on which is a very ancient Ambrosian Service-book in vellum, a large folio volume,

⁶ S. Aug. de Civ. Dei xxii. 8. Serm. 286. Confessions, Book ix. See also S. Ambrose, Epist. 22, and Paulin. Vit. Ambrosii, § 14.

⁷ The Hymn beginning "Grates tibi Jesu novas." See "Inni Sinceri," p. 18, and p. 81.

richly illuminated, and with the musical notation; it is one of six volumes. There is also in this Church a chapel which bears the name of Marcellina, the sister of S. Ambrose. It is said that her body reposes by the side of that of her brother, and of those of SS. Ger-vasius and Protasius, beneath the altar of this Church. S. Ambrose died at the age of 57, and was buried here on Easter Day, A.D. 397.

There is also here a chapel, formerly called the Basilica of Fausta, but now known by the name of the brother of S. Ambrose, *S. Satyrus*, where are some very interesting ancient Mosaics. S. Ambrose wrote an epitaph in elegiac verse in memory of his brother^a, who died A.D. 379, and was buried here near the body of S. Victor; and last year (1861), when some excavations were made in this chapel, their remains were found in a marble sarcophagus, with the initials S. V. S. S. H. R., which have been explained to signify, "SANC-TUS VICTOR, SANCTUS SATYRVS HIC REQUI-ESCUNT."

In the midst of these reminiscences of the

^a The Poem begins "Uranio Satyro supremum frater honorem." *Inni Sinceri*, p. 137.

great Bishop of Milan and Doctor of the Western Church, I sat down on one of the benches of the nave, and enjoyed the pleasure of reading some of his Hymns, of which I had procured a copy at the Ambrosian Library. Their grave and sober dignity, the deep dogmatic truths which they contain, and which are there commended to the memories and hearts of the people with unadorned simplicity; and their holy thoughts, expressed in terse and nervous language,—show, that clear and vigorous writing, and sound orthodox teaching, were combined in the Hymnology of the ancient Western Church; and may serve as a corrective of modern tendencies to substitute sentimentalism for doctrine, and meretricious verbal prettiness for modest chastity of style. One of the extant poems of S. Ambrose consists of twenty-one couplets*, which describe the different paintings of scenes from the Old and New Testament which formerly adorned the walls of this Church; and by the help of these verses it would be easy to restore it in that respect to the appearance which it presented in the fourth century.

* *Inni Sinceri*, p. 144.

This venerable Church, its mosaics, its choir, its ambon, its ancient marble chair, and the stalls which have succeeded the seats of the Suffragan Bishops of the Province, suggest some reflections on the ancient condition of the Church of Milan, as compared with its present state.

In the days of S. Ambrose, who was consecrated to this see in A.D. 374, the Bishop of Milan was elected by the *Clergy and People*, and by the *Bishops* of the Province, with the consent of the Emperor, *without any* reference to the *Bishop of Rome*. This is confessed by some of the most learned Roman Catholic writers¹. The Bishop of Milan was a Metropolitan, and had jurisdiction over a large Province which contains nearly twenty Episcopal Sees. There were formerly ancient chairs here for eighteen Suffragans, nine on each side of the Metropolitan². On the right side were the names and pictures of Bishops of

¹ e. g. Peter de Marca, Archbishop of Paris, de *Concordiâ Sacerdotii et Imperii*, VI. iv. p. 256, ed. Venet. 1770; and see Thomassin. *Vetus et nova Eccl. Disciplin.* ii. 2, c. 8.

² See the description of the Basilica Ambrogiana, Milan, 1837, p. 47.

Vercelli, Novara, Lodi, Tortona, Asti, Turin, Aosta, Acqui, and Genoa ; on the left, those of Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Ventimiglia, Savona, Albenga, Pavia, Piacenza, and Como ; all which were Suffragans of Milan ; and here it seems that provincial Councils were held. In the age of S. Ambrose the Bishops of these sees were *elected* by the *Clergy and People*, and were *confirmed* by the *Metropolitan* of the Province,—that is, by the Bishop of Milan ; and were then consecrated by him and two or three of his Suffragan Bishops. All this was done without *any reference to Rome*. Thus S. Ambrose, in his Epistles still extant, mentions that he himself ordained the Bishops of Pavia, Brescia, Como, Bergamo, and others¹.

Such was the form of Church-Government which had been established at Milan in the fourth century ; and this is a specimen of what prevailed in other Provinces of Italy, for example in the Picenian Province, which comprised the Episcopal Sees of Sinigaglia, Pesaro, Rimini, Urbino ; in the Flaminian Province, which contained Ravenna, Faenza, Imola,

¹ See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. x. p. 37, Art. vi. Saint Ambroise.

and other Bishoprics ; in the Æmilian Province, in which were the Sees of Bologna, Modena, Parma, and others; and in the Venetian, which contained Aquileia, Padua, Verona, and others ; these Provinces were governed by Metropolitans, and neither they nor any of their Suffragan Bishops were in any degree dependent for their election or confirmation or consecration on the *Bishop of Rome*.

But *at the present time*, the Bishop of Rome *will not allow* the Clergy and People of any of the dioceses above mentioned, to have Bishops *without his consent*. Now that Pius IX. is at variance with Victor Emmanuel, the Clergy and People of Italy are to be deprived of Bishops! "What have these sheep done⁴," that they are to have no Pastors? "Feed My sheep," was our Lord's command to St. Peter⁵, but the successor of St. Peter, as the Pope claims to be, heeds not the divine words. The People of Italy are not to have Bishops. It is in vain for them to attempt to exercise their ancient rights, and to choose Bishops,

⁴ 2 Sam. xxiv. 17. 1 Chron. xxi. 17.

⁵ John xxi. 16, 17.

for the Ordination of Clergy or for the Confirmation of children, unless the Bishop of Rome is pleased to send to them what he calls "bulls of institution." Italy is virtually under an Interdict. Even if another Ambrose were to arise at Milan, or another Philastrius or Gaudentius at Brescia, those holy men could not now be consecrated. But this was not so in the age of Ambrose, Philastrius, and Gaudentius, all of whom the Church of Rome herself professes to revere as saints, and whose names she has inserted in her Breviary. . . . "Quousque tandem?" How long will Rome tax the patience of the People, and presume on the divine forbearance?

The history of the Church of Milan in the age of S. Ambrose is fraught with instruction and encouragement, in reference to Christian doctrine as well as to Church Discipline.

The predecessor of S. Ambrose in the See of Milan was Auxentius, who had occupied this See for twenty years, and who was the leader of the Arian heretics in the West, and the bitter opponent of S. Hilary and S. Philastrius and other orthodox teachers. But it pleased God in due time to raise up in an

extraordinary manner an Ambrose to succeed him, and to contend manfully and successfully for the true faith, against the heresy which had been propagated by his predecessor. Besides this, some in high places, especially Justina the Empress, encouraged the Arian heresy ; and S. Ambrose had to encounter their bitter opposition. He did encounter it, and overcame it. Such examples as these may stimulate the courage, and may comfort the hearts, of the faithful in times of trial and defection like the present.

I fell into conversation with a young *chierico* of this Church ; he led me into the Sacristy, and took out an unconsecrated wafer, and described the mode in which the Priest receives and administers. The minute directions in the Roman Missal to the celebrant Priest, to pour a few drops of water into the wine in the chalice, and to break the host (which is done after the consecration) into two several parts, and to break off a particle of one of the parts, and to put it into the chalice, and then to receive the two parts, and to consume the *whole of the wine* with the particle in it, are more remarkable, when we consider that with

all this scrupulous care with regard to the reception of the bread and *wine* by the *celebrant*, the *people* are deprived of that share in the blessed Sacrament, which He who instituted it designed for them.

One part of the doctrine of Rome contradicts another. She says, in one of her popular Catechisms for First Communion, published at Florence in 1861, that "by virtue of the consecration, the substance of the *bread* is changed into the substance of the body *and blood* of Christ" ("la *sostanza* del *pane* si converte nella *sostanza* del corpo *e sangue* di Cristo"), and she says that "the Communicant who receives only the bread, receives the *blood* as well as the body of Christ;" and thus she defends her own practice in *denying* the *cup* to the communicant. And yet she *orders* the *celebrant* to receive the cup; and teaches in the same Manual that the "*celebrant* receives the *blood* under the species of *wine*" ("il celebrante piglia il *sangue* sotto la specie del *vino*"); and she also says "that, by virtue of the words of consecration, the *body only* of Jesus Christ is under the species of *bread*, and the *blood only* under the species of *wine*."

These words are in a catechism published at Florence in 1861, by authority of the Archbishop, 13th edition, p. 32.

Surely there is much confusion here.

If the *celebrant* is *commanded* to receive the *cup*, and if, under the species of wine, he receives the blood, and if "the blood only of Christ is under the species of *wine*," how can the *communicant* be sure that he himself receives the blood, since he is *not permitted* to receive the *cup*? And again, if "the substance of the *bread* is changed into the substance of the body *and blood* of Christ," and therefore the communicant receives the *blood* when he receives the bread, why did our Blessed Lord institute the Holy Sacrament with wine as well as bread? and why did He say, when He blessed the *cup*, "Drink ye *all* of *this*, for this is My *blood*?" It seems, therefore, that the Church of Rome in this matter is not consistent with herself, and contradicts One far greater than herself.

The consumption of the *whole of the wine* by the *celebrant alone*, and of *all the parts of*

* Matt. xxvi. 27, 28.

the whole wafer, isolates the celebrant from the Congregation, and even from the other Priests. The Church of Rome *forbids* the celebrant to *share* his consecrated wafer with any one else. This seems to be altogether at variance with the intention of Him who instituted the Holy Sacrament to be a means of showing forth and strengthening the *communion* of His members in Himself, and their mutual love to each other in Christ by partaking of *the "one bread"* (1 Cor. x. 17), and "*the cup*" (1 Cor. x. 21; xi. 26), in the Holy Eucharist.

This isolation and *non-communion* (if the word may be allowed) is still more visible in the practice which has grown up in the Church of Rome, of administering to the People, *not* just after the reception by the celebrant, *nor* even *during* the celebration of the Mass, but *after* it; and even at a *different time* from it, by means of consecrated wafers reserved in the tabernacle of the Altar.

"You do not believe in the real presence, and you do not *reserve* the host for the sick and absent," said my young friend to me; and

when I informed him that the Church of England teaches in her Catechism that "the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper;" and that she has provided a special office for the Communion of the *Sick*, he said, "But suppose a Priest is *not fasting*, how can he administer the Communion to a sick person?" "Do we not read in the Gospels," I replied, "that our Lord instituted the holy Sacrament, and that the Apostles received it, when they were *not fasting*? how do you account for this, if it is *absolutely necessary* to be fasting, in order to partake of the Holy Communion?"

According to the teaching of the Church of Rome it is essential to be fasting since the *previous midnight*, before the reception of the Holy Communion. In the "Catechism for First Communion" (printed at Florence in 1861, p. 6), the communicant is taught that he would "be guilty of most grievous deadly sin ('peccato mortale gravissimo') if he eats any thing after midnight before the communion."

My young friend turned the conversation, and said, "But you do not believe in 'Maria immacolata.'"

"We believe that *Christ alone* is without taint of sin, and we know that the great Father and Saint, S. Augustine, who is so much honoured at Milan, and in this Church, taught the same doctrine', and that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was never imposed upon you as an article of faith till the year 1854."

"Then you do not acknowledge the authority of the Pope, the successor of St. Peter?"

"We do not believe that he is competent to impose new articles of faith upon the Christian world. We know from the Epistle to the Galatians that on one occasion St. Peter himself 'walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel' (Gal. ii. 8—15), and that St. Paul resisted him to the face; and (as S. Augustine observes in his correspondence with S. Jerome) the Epistle to the Galatians is Canonical Scripture, dictated by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and *therefore* we are

' The *proofs* of this may be seen in a Sermon by the Author of this Journal, Occas. Sermons, XII., p. 104.

sure it is *true* that St. Peter *erred*; and those also may err, who call themselves St. Peter's successors, and they ought to be resisted when they 'walk not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel,' as understood and professed by the ancient Catholic Church."

"But you have not the faith of the Catholic Church."

"Yes, we have the Creeds of the Church; we have the same Creed as the Church of Rome uses in the administration of Baptism,—the Apostles' Creed,—and we have the same Creed as the Church of Rome uses at the Holy Communion,—the Nicene, or Constantinopolitan Creed,—and we have carried our moderation toward the Church of Rome so far that we have retained the 'filio-que' in the latter, believing as we do that it is a true assertion, although it was inserted by one of the Popes ^s in an irregular way."

"But you have altered the ancient offices of the Church."

"Have we? which do you mean?"

^s Pope Nicolas I., who was Bishop of Rome A.D. 858 to 867.

"You have altered the *Te Deum*; and I will show you where you have done it."

He went into the Sacristy, and brought out a Service-book, where he pointed to the verse in the *Te Deum*, "*Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem non abhorruisti Virginis uterum.*"

"Pardon me, we have not made any alteration there," and I repeated the words as they stand in the English Liturgy; "we recite those words in our Churches every day."

Our *American Brethren* have altered that verse in *their* liturgy, and we may hence take occasion to observe that *alterations of ancient formularies*, which have been received in the Church for many generations, are very dangerous, and furnish occasion of reproach to our brethren of the Church of Rome, who are always on the alert to take advantage of them, and to denounce those who alter ancient offices, as innovators and schismatics.

This may also serve as a warning to some among us who would tamper with our English Book of Common Prayer, and perhaps rob us of some of those formularies by means of which

we communicate with ancient Christendom. If (as some of our friends propose) we were to part with the Athanasian Creed (as the American Church has unhappily done), we should expose ourselves to censure from our enemies, and give a triumph to Popery;

“Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ.”

My young friend seemed a little disconcerted, and I tried to comfort him with the assurance that there were very many things in which we were entirely of one mind; and in this Church of S. Ambrose I could solemnly make the following assurance: “We receive the same Scriptures as S. Ambrose did; we profess the same faith, in the same Creeds, as S. Ambrose and S. Augustine did, and as all the greatest Fathers of the ancient Western Church did; and if we are not agreed in some points with the *present* Church of Rome, it is because she has departed in these respects from that ancient Faith, which S. Ambrose and S. Augustine held and taught; and because we know from the voice of God Himself in Holy Scripture that ‘if any man, or

even an angel from heaven preach to us any thing *beside* ' what was preached ' by the Apostles, and was received by the Apostolic Churches, ' he is to be Anathema.' ”

’ *παρά*, Gal. i. 8, 9.

CHAPTER VI.

MILAN (*continued*).

May 24th.—I called with an Italian friend on a distinguished person, formerly a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, and now a Senator of Italy, and a Judge, who has written many valuable works on the present condition of Italy, especially with regard to the See of Rome. Like almost all the letterati of Italy at the present day, he is very eager for the abolition of the Pope's *temporal* power. He is well versed in the history of the Papacy, and—what is more remarkable in an Italian layman—well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, which he quoted in the words of the Vulgate with readiness and precision. “Is the Bishop of Rome necessary to the Church?” he said. “If so, what becomes of the Church, when the Papal See is void? Does she cease

to exist? Where then is Christ's promise to her? He did not constitute any *spiritual supremacy* in His Church. Let then the orders of the Church be reduced to their primitive simplicity, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. As for the temporal power of Rome, 'the gift of Constantine' (as it is called) and of Charlemagne, that has been the bane of Christendom. Wonderful retribution!" he exclaimed, "Rome deprived Kings—your King John, for instance—of their dominions, on the plea of religion; and now God is raising up Kings to deprive her of her temporal power, and to 'render to her double for her sins.' He is bringing upon her the consequences of the principles and practices of her Hildebrands, her Innocent the Thirds, and her Boniface the Eighths. But remember, I do not confound the '*Chiesa di Roma*' with the '*Curia di Roma*.' I abhor the court of Rome, but I love much that is in the Church of Rome: I revere the Pope as a Bishop, but owe him no allegiance as a King. We must go back to the condition of the Church as displayed to us in Holy Scripture. Do not suppose, however," said he, "that I would

leave the Bible to be interpreted and tampered with by every man as he likes. No. I reject the 'senso privato,' and I accept the 'Chiesa vera primitiva' as the Interpreter of Scripture. But what," added he, "is the *Chiesa*? *Not* the Pope, not the Bishops and Priests alone, but the whole body of the faithful associated with them. But the misfortune is," he said, "that the Laity do not concern themselves much with these things. The Government allows the People to imagine, that the Pope and his Bishops are the only persons who care a whit for Religion and the Church; and thus they give a great advantage to the Papacy. When I was in Parliament, I conjured Cavour to encourage pious, learned, and loyal Priests; but he let matters take their own course, and allowed Religion and the Church to shift for themselves. I told Cavour that his celebrated maxim, 'Libera Chiesa in libero Stato,' which many admired as a fine saying, is a 'spropósito,' and would one day be found to be so. Take, for example, the claim of the Church of Rome to summon all Bishops to Rome. Is she to be *free* to do this at whatever time, and for whatever cause, she pleases to do so? If

so, then the Bishops of Italy are *not subjects* of the *King* of Italy, but are vassals of the Pope—they are slaves of a foreign Potentate, hostile to the King. And thus the King of Italy himself is a subject of the Pope of Rome, and the Pope will crush him if he can. But do not persecute the Church, I said to Cavour, do not persecute any one; encourage her to do her duty, and let her be free to do her duty, and help her to do all the good in her power.”

“Yes,” added the friend who had accompanied me; “and it is much to be regretted that the municipality of Milan did not engage the services of the loyal and religious Parish Priests in the primary Schools of the city, but placed those schools under the control of masters, who will teach them liberalism, and lead them on to democracy.”

“There is a great deal now said and written in Italy in behalf of ‘Italia unita,’ but what is still more necessary,” said I, “is ‘Chiesa unita.’” “Yes,” said the Senator, “that is true; and you may depend upon it, that if we could get rid of the Pope’s temporal power, we

should have gained a great step to the union of the Church."

I was much struck by the fervid eloquence with which he spoke, and could not but think that if Italy had many laymen like him in piety, learning, and vigour, she would, with the divine blessing, be enabled to recover her place among the nations of the earth.

My companion walked with me to the Cathedral, and as we stood before the façade of that magnificent building, he paused and said, "I have been in almost all parts of Italy, and I believe that the people of Lombardy are, on the whole, the most religious of all its inhabitants. I have observed," he added, "that the nearer you come to Rome, the further you seem to be from religion. If you wish to see the religion of Milan in its genuine character, get up early in the morning, and go to the churches then, or go to them in the evening, at about half-past seven o'clock at this season, and you will find them filled with the *working classes*. As for the upper ranks, it is true that they are for the most part indifferent to religion. When the

Austrians were in power here, many of the upper class *professed* to be religious, because it suited their interests; it was necessary to go to mass, &c., in order to obtain any civil employment under Government, but this was an hypocritical pretence, and now they have thrown off the mask."

I went accordingly at half-past seven P.M. to the Church of S. Fedele. There was a large Congregation of common people: very few young men. The service was the "Rosarium B. V. M." The responses full and general, as usual in this office. Would that it were more scriptural and more spiritual!

May 25th, Sunday.—Festival of Saint Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), in the Roman Breviary, where he is eulogized (as was before noticed) because he dethroned the Emperor of Germany, Henry IV., and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. How deeply the policy of Hildebrand has sunk into the heart of Italy! It is living, in its practical results, at this day.

My friend, the Senator, called at an early hour of the morning, and renewed his conversation on the temporal and spiritual power of

the Papacy. "We have had great men," said he, "in Italy, who have written well on the measures to be adopted by us for restraining the spiritual and temporal usurpations of the Papacy. There was Antonio Rosmini, who published some excellent works on this subject¹. But he was timid (*pauroso*), and made an humble submission to the Pope. There was Vincenzo Gioberti² also, who has left some very valuable suggestions in his *opere postume*, which you ought to read: they contain a plan of a reformation for Italy. And there are some excellent remarks in the brochure of Mamiani (*Rinascenza Cattolica*). By the

¹ His "Le cinque Piaghe di Roma" is one of the most remarkable works of modern days, in this respect; it was condemned by the "Congregation of the Index" at Rome: more will be said of it, in another place; see chap. xii.

² Gioberti was excommunicated, and several of his books were condemned by the Roman "Congregazione dell' Indice." Gioberti, who was a Priest, put forth in his celebrated work, "Il Primato civile degli Italiani," the theory of an Italian confederacy with the Pope at its head as President, and the King of Sardinia as its military chief; he afterwards became President of the Council at Turin in December, 1848, but his administration was as brief as it was unsuccessful.

way, he has made some observations on the applicability of the prophecies of Scripture to the present time. But, as I said before, some of the present rulers of Italy do not seem sufficiently to remember the declarations of Almighty God in Scripture,—‘By Me kings reign,’ &c., ‘Righteousness exalteth a Nation,’—‘Per me reges regnant et legum conditores justa decernunt.’ ‘Per Me potentes imperant, et potentes decernunt justitiam³.’ ‘Justitia elevat gentem, miseros autem facit populos peccatum⁴.’” They do not seem to remember, that they cannot counteract Popery except by Christianity.

My friend had been well acquainted with Mezzofanti, whom I had seen at Bologna and Rome in 1831, 1832: he bore testimony to the great modesty as well as to the wonderful gifts of that extraordinary man, who spoke thirty-two languages,—that is, ten more than were spoken by Mithridates. “I have, by the favour of God, a talent for languages,” Mezzofanti used to say, but “non sono dotto, non conosco che parole.” My friend said that

³ Prov. viii. 15. He quoted from the Vulgate.

⁴ Prov. xiv. 34.

he had conversed with Mezzofanti in two patois of Sardinia, and found him versed in both. I mentioned the saying of the late Francis Hare concerning Mezzofanti, that he had a larger bunch of keys in his hand than any man that ever lived, but that he never unlocked any thing with them: his vast knowledge of language was never applied to any scientific or literary purpose. Lord Byron said that he was a walking Polyglot, and ought to have lived at the time of Babel, and to have served as interpreter; certainly it would have been a noble and a holy use of his marvellous gift, if it could have been employed in bringing the discordant tribes of earth, or even of Europe, to a common consent in the great truths of the Gospel. The Rationalists of modern days have attempted to explain away the miracle which the Church celebrates at Pentecost, the gift of tongues. The extraordinary talents which Almighty God still bestows now and then on individuals,—such as Mezzofanti in Italy, (and may we not add the name of one of our own Bishops in the Pacific, Bishop Patteson?) may serve to remind us of His divine power in this respect,

and to convince the incredulous, that if a worthy purpose was to be gained thereby, such as the manifestation of the power and love of the Holy Ghost in publishing the *one Gospel* to *all* Nations in their own tongues by the Apostles of Christ, and in counteracting the evils of Babel by the blessings of Sion, surely the bestowal of the Gift of Tongues on the disciples at Pentecost was in perfect accordance with the divine attributes.

Went to the English chapel in Vicolo di S. Giovanni alla *conca*, one of the oldest Churches of Milan; its existence may be traced in Manuscripts of the eighth century: it is called "*alla conca*," from the cauldron of boiling oil into which St. John the Evangelist is said to have been put by the order of the Emperor Domitian—to which S. Ambrose refers in his hymn for St. John's Day;—St. John is represented on the façade of the Church as standing in a *conca*. The English Chapel is part of an old disused Church given to the English congregation by Victor Em-

⁵ Inni Sinceri, p. 101, where is an engraving of the bas-relief on the façade of this Church.

manuel at the request of the English ambassador, Sir James Hudson. It is well fitted up, and the Service was well celebrated, with excellent singing. The beauty of the English Liturgy is perhaps most felt in a foreign land. If the people of England were deprived of the Church Service for a year, how much would they value it!

There is little evidence of any religious rest on the Lord's Day in the streets of Milan. Is not this secularization of the Christian Sunday due to the erroneous teaching of the Church of Rome, which has altogether lost sight of the *scriptural* authority for the sanctification of the Lord's Day? In a popular Catechism, now in the thirteenth edition, for the use of the "Scuole Pie," printed at Florence in 1861, and authorized by the Archbishop, the *Fourth* Commandment is explained to oblige the Christian to observe the "*festivals* of the *Church*," pp. 15, 17, but not a word is said concerning the *Lord's Day*.

The same Catechism omits the *Second* Commandment altogether, nor does it give any exposition of it in explaining the *first* Com-

mandment. In both these respects, this popular Catechism is far worse than the *Trent* Catechism; and is one evidence among many that the *popular* theology and *popular* practice of Rome are lower than the teaching of her Schools.

Here also is a striking evidence of the evil effects produced by the neglect of Holy Scripture on the part of the Clergy, and by their denial of it to the people. If the Bible were known by the Clergy and the People, these perversions of God's Law could never have been tolerated.

At half-past two P.M., went to the Cathedral. The north and south aisles of its interior were parted off from the nave with purple stuff curtains; in the aisles, behind the curtains, were classes for boys and men on the south side, and for girls and women on the north. The boys were learning to read and write, till a quarter to three; they were standing or sitting in groups, with small ink-bottles and copy-books,—very little order or method, and not a little noise; they would have made a poor figure in the Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. At a quarter

to three the bell rang, and they all knelt down for prayer, and the Clergy commenced instruction in the Catechism, with boys and girls respectively in the south and north aisles of the Cathedral; this was a more orderly proceeding. I attended the classes of *men*, which were at the east end of the south aisle: very interesting; at the entrance was suspended a board with the words "Pax Vobis," and "Humilitas," S. Carlo's motto. These Catechetical Schools were instituted by him; and similar Schools were established by him in other parts of the Diocese. He had a considerable share in framing the celebrated Trent Catechism, which was composed by four theologians selected and encouraged by him, and was completed in December, 1564—as he states in a letter to Cardinal Hosius—and was printed at Rome in the Pontificate of Pius V., in 1566. S. Carlo had learnt the importance of catechizing from the Reformers, especially from Luther and Melanchthon; and the good which has been done by catechizing in the Church of Rome at Milan and Lombardy, generally, is in no small degree a fruit of the Reformation. Our Romanist brethren seem

to be little aware how much they owe to the Reformers, whom they vehemently denounce and abhor. Ought they not to thank them for their Trent Catechism, and for vernacular Bibles—and vernacular prayers—wherever they have any: and even for much that is good in the disciplinarian reforms of the Council of Trent?

In a space of about eighty feet square were four classes of men, each arranged in a quadrangle with four benches, a Priest for each: and the men were sitting, some by his side, and others facing him, others on the benches to his right hand and to his left. In one of these classes were as many as 300 men. The Priest was addressing them in a clear voice, and with lively action,—no questions. One of these four Priests was discoursing to his class on the sin of exposing oneself to temptation. The second was going through the Creed, and giving a short explanation of each article: the third was speaking on the forgiveness of injuries; the fourth, on the omnipresence of God. All that I heard was excellent; and this kind of familiar, plain, personal, and practical addresses to groups of persons in small numbers

—all of whom could hear and see—seems to be better adapted to instruct the people than what we call “*sermons for the masses.*” Most of the men were of the middle class, and were grave, serious, sedate, and attentive. This was one of the most edifying sights of the kind that I have ever had the good fortune to see in a continental Church.

It is to be regretted that the impression produced by this interesting sight should be at all impaired by associations of a different character. How much more appropriate a monument of a Christian Bishop is this Catechetical School than the subterranean Tomb where the body of S. Charles Borromeo is preserved, in a shrine of gold and silver! It is dressed up in pontifical robes, enriched with sparkling diamonds, and with the head reposing on a gilded cushion! Melancholy spectacle! in which the brilliant splendour of earthly pomp contrasts ill with the solemn realities of weakness and mortality, and with his own motto, “*Humilitas.*”

S. Charles Borromeo was nephew of Pope Pius IV.; he died Nov. 4, 1584, aged 46 years, and was canonized by Paul V., in 1610: but

his canonization cost his family and friends so large a sum of money that they were deterred from attempting to obtain a similar honour for his scarcely less celebrated cousin, Cardinal Frederick Borromeo; who has been commended to the affectionate reverence of posterity by the pen of Manzoni in his *I promessi sposi*—a tribute surely far more congenial to the mind of a saintly person, than the venal apotheosis of a Roman Canonization⁶.

A person can hardly obtain a place now in the Roman Calendar, unless he belongs to a rich family, or to some monastic order who will pay the expenses of his sanctification, as the Franciscans and Jesuits are now doing for the Japanese Martyrs at Rome. St. Paul and St. Peter would not have much prospect of being canonized, unless some religious order would be kind enough to undertake their cause, and defray the cost of their canonization.

I observed some other objects in the Duomo which disturb the religious solemnity of this noble Minster, and detract from the spiritual edification of its services. What must a rea-

⁶ See below, chap. xix.

sonable and reflecting worshipper think of the honesty and veracity of those who tell him, by an inscription engraved in large letters at the east end of this Cathedral, that this "augustissima Basilica" contains the following relics?—

"A part of our Lord's cradle, and swaddling clothes.

"*Item.* A part of the towel with which He wiped His Disciples' feet.

"*Item.* A part of the pillar at which He was bound and scourged; four thorns of His Crown; part of the reed with which He was struck; part of the wood of the Cross; one of the nails; part of the Soldier's spear; part of the sponge.

"*Item.* Two teeth of Elisha.

"*Item.* A bit of Moses' rod, &c.

"*Item.*——"

But I refrain,—such pious frauds as these must mar the effect of the teaching of a Church, and shake men's confidence in her. Fortunately the inscription is in Latin.

Let us hope that the time is not far distant, when the Church of Milan may clear herself from such superstitions, deceits, and corrup-

tions as these, and may dispense the wholesome food of the Gospel to the people, in this magnificent Minster; and that the Catechetical School of S. Charles Borromeo at Milan may vie in Christian rivalry and religious emulation with that of St. Mark at Alexandria.

CHAPTER VII.

MILAN TO PAVIA AND GENOA.

Monday, May 26.—Left Milan for Pavia and Genoa. The Churches of Pavia are very interesting, especially the Cathedral, and the Church of S. Michael. There is a sombre, severe, and stern aspect in these Churches, which, with their fabrics still unfinished, seems to connect the spectator of the present day with centuries long gone by.

The Cathedral contains a beautiful specimen of fourteenth century work, commenced in A.D. 1362, as Cicognara assures us ¹, the altar-tomb of S. Augustine under a canopy, adorned with more than 200 figures: some of the guide-books speak of this tomb as containing the remains of the great African Bishop; but it is, I

¹ *Storia di Scultura*, iii. 292.

believe, only a cenotaph. However, it is very interesting, as an evidence of the veneration in which the memory of S. Augustine was held in the middle ages: and it is well that the great African Father should be thus honoured in Lombardy, where he spent some of the most eventful years of his life; and that now, when Hippo is in ruins, and there are scarcely any remains of the African Churches, their greatest Bishop and Doctor should be venerated in a Cathedral of Italy, which owes to him so much of its theological learning.

Besides, although the remains of S. Augustine are not in this monument, yet there is good reason to believe that they are now at Pavia. S. Augustine died at Hippo, in Africa, Aug. 28, A.D. 430, aged seventy-six years, when that city was besieged by the Vandals.

His body was buried at St. Stephen's Church at Hippo; and it was carried thence to Sardinia when Africa was overrun by Vandals and Visigoths, and the orthodox Bishops were banished by them. Some place that translation in A.D. 484; others assign a later date to it.

In A.D. 710, Luitprand, King of Lombardy, recovered the remains of the great African Bishop from the hands of the Saracens, who were then masters of Sardinia, and brought them to Pavia.

In A.D. 796, Charlemagne commissioned Oldrad, Archbishop of Milan, to examine the records of these translations of the remains; and the facts now stated are grounded on the Archbishop's report.

In the year 1695, Oct. 1, some repairs were made in the crypt of the Church of St. Peter "in cœlo aureo" at Pavia, where the remains were believed to be; and a silver chest was found there with an inscription, it is said, in Gothic characters, of the word AGOSTINO.

An account is given of this discovery by Father Montfaucon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, who visited Pavia at that time (p. 26). Mabillon says (*Diar. Ital.* p. 221), that, when he was here, it was generally believed that the body was beneath the altar of St. Peter's Church.

Tillemont, in his *Ecclesiastical Memoirs*, seems to incline to the opinion that its place

cannot be clearly determined. Vasari² appears to be disposed to believe the story that the beautiful marble monument which once stood at the high altar of St. Peter's, Pavia, actually contained the body of S. Augustine.

We went from Pavia to the Certosa, a sumptuous Monastery—one of the most splendid in the world—which is due to the remorse of John Galeazzo Visconti, the first Duke of Milan, for the murder of his uncle and father-in-law and family—whom he poisoned. How many of the noblest buildings owe their origin to the most heinous sins! It contains his monument, but it also is a cenotaph.

Galeazzo died in 1402, and was buried in the cathedral of Milan; but his body was afterwards removed; and in 1562, when this monument was finished,—it had been begun in 1490,—his body could not be found.

We drove under a frescoed gateway, and crossed a courtyard, and entered the nave. Vespers were going on; the effect of hearing

² Vita di Girolamo, iii. p. 30.

beautiful music, in a large magnificent building, without seeing any living creature, is very solemn and impressive. It seems as if the sounds come from the spiritual world. After the vespers saw the Superior—he alone is allowed to converse: other members of the order, in their light-coloured dress of serge, were moving silently about the Church, like shadowy figures on a wall. The Carthusian rule is very strict. They never touch animal food: “neppure ammalati.” I went into the two cloistral quadrangles; the lesser contains a beautiful garden rich in flowers; and the walks are adorned with graceful bas-reliefs in terra cotta, representing scriptural subjects. The larger cloister enclosed a field of corn: the views of the noble Monastery from these courts are very picturesque. Each of the Monks has a separate abode which opens into the garden: and there is a little window-like hatch by which his food is introduced. No woman is allowed to enter the cloister. I gathered a sprig of heartsease from the garden, to console the ladies of our party for their exclusion. The monks, with all their restrictions, cannot exclude nature, and natural

affection. These flowers themselves are witnesses to that truth:—

“*Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.*”

And are they to have heartsease and polyanthuses in their garden, and to know nothing of the beautiful colours and fragrant perfumes of the sweet flowers of Christian graces in holy women? Strange contradiction!

The recluses have no communication with one another, and never see one another except at the hours of Divine Service, and at rare intervals. It seems as if the rule of S. Bruno had been dictated by his impressions on seeing his friend and companion, Raymond, suddenly snatched away at a social meeting, and then laid out in a coffin on a bier by torchlight, as dead, in a chapel hung with black, and then suddenly rising out of the coffin, and exclaiming, “*Justo judicio Dei appellatus sum, justo judicio Dei judicatus sum,*” and then falling back dead. From that day S. Bruno renounced the world, and dedicated himself to the monastic life.

According to the original rule of S. Bruno (who died A.D. 1101) every cell was to be fur-

nished with a stock of parchment, pens, ink, and colours, and every monk was obliged to spend a certain time in transcribing or illuminating MSS. How much of our present knowledge is due to the patient industry of these Carthusian brethren! The invention of printing has robbed them of a great part of their occupation, but it has profited much by their labours. There is a large library in the monastery.

In the fields between the Certosa and Pavia, women were busy haymaking. Costume of the women and girls, striped lilac petticoats, white jackets, and large straw hats.

We passed through Alessandria, where we halted for some time, and arrived at Genoa at ten P.M.—Hôtel de France—very good.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENOA.

Genoa, Tuesday, May 27.—Walked along the walls and ramparts of S. Chiara,—glorious view of hills, city, gardens, and sea,—to Santa Maria di Carignano: called on the celebrated writer and preacher, formerly a Priest of the Church of Rome, Dr. Luigi De Sanctis. His *Almanacco* had a sale of 80,000 copies last year: he has published a Letter to the Pope; and a tract on Clerical Celibacy (1862), both of which he gave me.

The former,—the “Lettera a Pio IX.,”—was written in 1849 (March 12), from “a Roman exile to a Roman exile.” De Sanctis had been a Professor of Theology and a Parish Priest at Rome, and he had left it and become a “Ministro del S. Vangelo,” and Pius IX. had been driven from Rome to Gaëta. The letter bears testimony to the private virtues of the

Pope, but expresses the writer's conviction that the Divine Judgments are hanging over the Papacy for its sins.

"Meditate, O holy Father," says the writer to the Pope¹, "on the dread transactions of the Great Day, when the Divine Judge will demand of thee an account of thy stewardship (Luke xvi. 2), and when He will say, I commanded men to 'search the Scriptures' (John v. 39); why then didst thou forbid them to do so, in My name? I commanded them to worship God in spirit and in truth (John iv. 24); why then didst thou substitute a material and superstitious ritual in the place of the pure worship of the one true God? I taught them that there is but 'One Mediator between God and men' (1 Tim. ii. 5); why didst thou disparage My mediation by adding to it that of the Angels and Saints of thy Calendar? I commanded them to worship the one true God, and Him only; why didst thou erect altars to Saints, and commandedst men to worship their images and relics? I bade them to observe the ten commandments (Matt. xix. 17); how

¹ Lettera a Pio IX., pp. 12, 13.

is it then that thou didst dare to cancel one of them? (Exod. xx. 4—6.) I said that My blood cleanseth from all sin (1 John i. 7), and that there is no condemnation to them that are in Me (Rom. viii. 1); wherefore then didst thou invent the pains of Purgatory for those who die in a state of grace? I said that My sacrifice was offered once for all, and could not be repeated (Heb. x. 1—18); why didst thou depreciate the infinite worth of My blood-shedding, by teaching that it must be repeated often every day?"

His treatise "on the Celibacy of the Clergy" has already appeared in several editions, but the edition of the present year is much more complete than any of the preceding. It is a masterly work, written with that clearness and vigour for which the Author is distinguished; and it has a special value, because the Author, who passed a considerable time at Rome as a theological teacher and a Parish Priest, had the best opportunities of observing the *practical working* of the law of enforced Celibacy on the lives of the Clergy, and of its consequent influence on the faith and practice of the people. Persons who may feel any doubts as

to the irreligious and antichristian character and effects of this law of Clerical Celibacy, which the Church of Rome enforces by the most solemn sanctions, especially by the Decrees of Trent², which she affirms to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, may be requested to examine the fourteenth chapter of this treatise from pp. 168 to 174. After a perusal of the details³ there set down,—which are too revolting to be transcribed—concerning the present effects of enforced Clerical Celibacy, *at Rome herself*, which boasts to be “the Holy City,” the “Mother and Mistress of Churches,” they will probably need no other argument to convince them that the enactment of this law is very like a fulfilment of the prophecy of Scripture concerning the “lawless One” who “sets himself in the temple of God, as if he were God” (2 Thess. ii. 4); and that the Church which enforces such a law, in God’s name, on His Ministers, cannot be the true Church of God, the holy Bride of Christ.

² Conc. Trid., Sess. xxiv. can. 9.

³ “Chi è in Roma che non possa rammentare a *centinaia simili fatti* (and horrible they are) e nominare *le persone* ?” p. 171.

This treatise is very important at the present time. Not long after my visit to Dr. De Sanctis, a Member of the Italian Parliament, Petruccelli, brought in a bill to enable the Clergy of Italy to marry. That bill has been supported by the organ of the reforming portion of the Clergy of Italy, the *Colonna di Fuoco*⁴, which says, "We cannot deny the existence of this plague of moral degradation in the Clergy; the Celibacy of the Clergy is to be placed in the same category as the temporal power of the Pope."

This is true; it was in order to detach the Clergy from the ties of Family and of Country, and to make them members of the *Papal* Family, and subjects of the *Papal* Monarchy, that Pope Gregory VII. enforced that anti-social and anti-christian enactment,—by which he defied the divine declaration that "Marriage is honourable in all" (Heb. xiii. 4), and incurred the divine denunciation on those who "forbid to marry" (1 Tim. iv. 1); which is called "a doctrine of devils." And the carnal end which he had in view,—that of promoting the temporal aggrandizement, and of gratifying

⁴ For July 25, 1862.

the worldly pride and ambition of him who calls himself the Vicar of Christ, is an aggravation of the guilt which is inherent in the law itself.

The bill of Petruccelli has also been discussed by Padre Passaglia, in his journal⁵, who is less disposed to approve it; but his objection seems to lie rather against the form in which the question is brought forward, than against the discussion of the question itself. Passaglia is of opinion that this is a matter which ought to be referred to the Spirituality; that it is a fit subject for consideration in the Synods of the Church; that the initiative ought to be there; and that when the Spirituality has deliberated upon it, and has declared the result of its deliberations, then would be the time for the Civil Power to intervene. The Courts of France have decided that there is no *civil* law in that country which hinders the marriage of the Clergy But to return to De Sanctis.

He does not seem to have much hope of religious reformation from *within* the Church of Rome: and it was in despair of any such im-

⁵ The Mediatore, Nos. 30, 31, 32.

provement on her part that he renounced communion with her. "If I had been a Priest in the Church of *England*," he said, "I would not have quitted *her*. I know the evils of division: and it was by compulsion that I left the Church of Rome. She enforces sinful terms of communion, and renders communion with her impossible: the sin of schism lies at her door."

It seems to be matter of regret that so able, learned, and devout a person should be so isolated as he appears to be. He has a congregation and a daily evening service in a "Chiesa Evangelica Italiana;"—no Liturgy: some ex-priests come to him regularly for instruction.

"I fear," said he, "that the true Church in Italy will be but a 'piccolo gregge.'"

But might it not be larger, if there was a well-considered systematic effort to *preserve* what is good and ancient in the Roman Church, and to clear it from corruptions, errors, and innovations? And are there not many in the Church of Rome herself who are even now engaged,—quietly it may be and patiently, but not less steadily and surely,—in

this holy work ? I believe that there are : and much may be done by the members of the English, American, and Colonial Churches, to promote this design. Of this I am fully convinced, that the Italian People will never accept a cold, bare, negative Protestantism. The temperament of the whole Italian Nation from Turin to Tarentum revolts against it. There has been a series of articles in the "*Colonna di Fuoco*," the organ of the *reforming* Clergy in Italy, with this significant title, "*Il Protestante non è Italiano*;" and this is perfectly true, in the *negative* sense of the word *Protestant*. The Italians may remain Roman Catholics; they may become secularists, scoffers, and libertines; or they may reform their own Church by preserving what is grand and sublime in her Ritual and Liturgy, and what is Scriptural, Catholic, and primitive in her Doctrine; and restoring her Ecclesiastical Government and Discipline to the standard of the best and purest ages of Christendom. And much depends on the wisdom of the rulers and counsellors of Italy during the next few years for the determination of the question,—which of these three courses will be pursued ?

One of the most painful symptoms of the dangers of the present times in Italy is in the number of *Caricatures* which meet the eye in the streets, where the most sacred objects of religion are exposed to ridicule. There is but one step between superstition and buffoonery. The production and display of such profane ribaldry in the shop-windows, and on the walls of the streets, without let or hindrance, show that there must be a great deal of deep-rooted Indifference, if not of Infidelity, in the hearts of the people.

Genoa seems to be divided into two parties. On one side are the Clergy, opposed to religious reform and intellectual improvement, and with them are the ancient Nobility, devoted to the Papacy; many of them very pious and charitable, especially the ladies of rank. When the Cholera raged in Genoa, and the Matron of one of the greatest of the Hospitals quitted her post in alarm, her place was taken by one of the Nobles of Genoa and his wife, who discharged its duties for some time. On the other side are the commercial and maritime classes, the Mazzinians and republicans. Each party is acting

and reacting upon the other, each is exasperating the other, and driving it into extremes.

The instruction in the Schools is excellent here, especially the primary Schools, which are very numerous in this and other places in Piedmont. The progress made in Piedmont, compared with other parts of Italy, in primary instruction, is very striking. In the Neapolitan Provinces, with a population of seven millions, there are only 2500 Schoolmasters, whereas in the Kingdom of Sardinia (to adopt its former name), with a population of only four millions, there are 7150 Schoolmasters.

The relative statistics of the Provinces of Italy are as follows, according to the last Italian authorities :—

	Popolazione.	Maestri.
" Le provincie Napoletane	7,060,618	2,590
Sicilia	2,223,476	740
Marche ed Umbria . .	1,395,799	869
Toscana	1,815,243	739
Emilia	2,127,105	1,545
Lombardia	3,026,533	5,463
Provincie Sarde . . .	4,079,678	7,150
Totale	21,728,452	19,096 ⁶ ."

⁶ From the *Corrispondenza Franco-Italiana*.

There are excellent Industrial Schools for the lower orders, and the people will soon be far in advance of their religious teachers. And then what will be the consequence?

"I well remember the time," said a resident in Genoa to me, "when every one went down on his knees in the streets before the host at the Festival of *Corpus Domini*. Now, few but the peasants and old women pay it such reverence: the young men smoke their cigars, and look on with indifference."

Genoa is one of the most interesting cities in Italy for old conventual buildings. You pass out of a busy street by one of those long narrow and rather steep thoroughfares, brilliant with gold, jewelry, silver filagree-work, and coral ornaments, and traversed by long trains of mules tied to one another's tails, and muzzled with corded nose-bags,—you enter a by-lane, and come into an old cloistered quadrangle, shaded with orange-trees, with an old monastic well in the centre, and you see walls engraved with venerable ancient inscriptions, or adorned with mediæval sculpture. Such are the cloistered retreats of S. Andrea and of the Church of S. Matteo, founded in the

twelfth century, with its interesting records of the Dorias. On the façade of the Church is an inscription which records a victory gained by the Genoese fleet under Lamba Doria over the Venetians under Dandolo, on Sept. 7, A.D. 1298, at Scarzola. The cloisters contain the remains of two colossal statues of Dorias—one, the celebrated Giannetto, who commanded in the great naval victory of Lepanto in 1571. Strange to say, these memorials of Genoese glory, which once stood in front of the ducal palace, were thrown down and mutilated by a revolutionary mob intoxicated with Gallican phrenzy, in 1797.

Another relic of mediæval history survives in the Dominican Convent, still tenanted by a few friars,—some learned and intelligent,—the last of their race: half of the convent is now used as a barrack. The old ruined Church of S. Agostino is also very interesting: I observed the date of A.D. 1293 on its façade. Not far from it you may light upon some remains of an old Roman wall and aqueduct, and on a fragment of an old column of cipolino in a courtyard of an old monastery.

There is a peculiar charm in Italian towns,

—a charm perhaps derived from the influence of Grecian art, and especially from that of Athens. How noble and dignifying a sight did the *agora*, or market-place of Athens, present, with its grand and graceful works of Painting and Sculpture, raising the mind from secular business to higher aspirations! And in like manner, amid the bustle and din of trade and commerce in Italian cities, the eye is refreshed, ever and anon, with some beautiful works of art which lift the thoughts above the level of mere worldly traffic, and open out to the eye, as it were through a spiritual loophole, glimpses of the unseen world. In the most crowded thoroughfare of Genoa,—the Strada degli Orefici,—are two beautiful gleams of this kind; one is the lovely picture of the Holy Family, by Pellegrino Piola, over one of the shops; this picture belongs to the guild of the goldsmiths, and is much prized by them. Nearly opposite is a very graceful basso-rilievo of the Nativity. Such works as these, preserved in their original freshness for centuries (the picture is carefully covered with glass), and representing subjects of everlasting interest, and of calm

repose and unruffled quietness, exercise a spiritualizing and elevating influence on the ephemeral eagerness and hurry of the passers-by, and doubtless serve to remind some among them of the vanity of secular and earthly things, and of the peace and permanence of a better world.

What would the ancient Greek artists have given for the privilege of representing such glorious scenes as have been revealed to the imagination of Christian Art! Even now it is refreshing in the leisure-hours of Fancy and Meditation, to *imagine* a Presepe sculptured by the hand of Phidias or Praxiteles for the market-place of Athens.

The out-door life of Italy is one of its chief charms, especially at this season of the year; it suggests a reminiscence of poetical descriptions of hours spent by her Classical Poets in ancient days at the side of streams and fountains, beneath the shade of fair trees, with fragrant flowering shrubs clustering around them, and with statues, single or in groups, disposed at intervals amid the trees. There is a quiet place at Genoa, to which we resorted frequently for rest and refreshment, and to

which we owe a tribute of gratitude, "the Concordia," as it is called: and it is pleasant to remember its sparkling fountain and its large oleanders with their profusion of red flowers, and the orange-trees in fruit, and the *nespoli*, and *laurustinus*, and pomegranates, and the willows hanging over the clear basin, and the marble tables near which we passed some happy hours during our sojourn in this noble city.

Wednesday evening, May 28.—Went to the Church alle Vigne—a large congregation assembled to hear a sermon. The Preacher was standing on a platform, on which a high crucifix was fixed at his left hand: behind him was an arm-chair: he had a fine sonorous voice, and used much action. He began with a violent invective against the rationalizing Philosophy of the day, and deplored the ravages it was making among the people, who imagined all the while that they were gaining some new illumination from it: "Povero popolo!" he exclaimed; for all the while "they are becoming more and more the dupes and victims of the Evil Spirit of delusion."

This was the procœmium to a Sermon on

Purgatory. It betrayed uneasiness, and was in an apologetic tone. He stated the *objections* made to the doctrine of Purgatory by some, especially the Protestants (of whom he said some very hard things), for instance, that the doctrine had been fabricated by the Clergy, "per motivo di lucro sacerdotale," and that it was not to be found in Scripture: he referred to the usual text, 2 Maccabees xii. 44. "But even *if* the doctrine is *not true*" (he said) "it can *do no harm* ; but, on the contrary, is an exercise of Christian love for the departed." And then he exemplified the consolatory effects of the doctrine upon bereaved and mourning widows, and upon others who found quiet comfort in showing their love for their deceased friends, by praying, and procuring masses, &c., for the deliverance of their souls out of purgatory; all which comfort, he said, would be taken from them if they were robbed of their belief in Purgatory.

Most true it is, that the Church of Rome has shown consummate skill in accommodating herself to the best feelings of human nature; and almost all her errors and corruptions in doctrine and practice derive their power from

the affections of men, and still more of women, when in sorrow and distress, either for sin committed, or for suffering endured;

“ The way is smooth,
For Power that travels *with the human heart*.”

But surely the very consciousness of this truth ought also to suggest the Poet's lesson of self-control;—

“ Ye holy men, so earnest in your care,
Of your own mighty instruments beware !”

How can it be said that the doctrine of Purgatory can “do no harm,” if it tempts men to try “to be wise above what is written⁷,” and to “teach for *doctrines* the commandments of men⁸ :” and if the sacrifice of the Mass for the dead, and eleemosynary indulgences doled forth for money by the Church, expose the Church to suspicion of covetousness and fraudulent traffic in spiritual things for filthy lucre⁹; and if it makes an invidious distinction between

⁷ 1 Cor. iv. 6.

⁸ Matt. xv. 9. Mark vii. 7.

⁹ 1 Tim. vi. 5, where the Apostle speaks of “corrupt men who suppose that religion is a trade;” see also 2 Cor. ii. 17.

rich and poor¹, and if it tempts men to put off their repentance, while they are alive, and while the day of repentance lasts, and before the hour of death comes, "when no man can work:" and if it be at all true (as Bishop Bull observes) that a belief in Purgatory will, it is to be feared, be the cause of many men's exclusion from Paradise and from Heaven? Surely then the doctrine of Purgatory may be found to have done great harm.

The congregation was large, and consisted mostly of the middle and lower classes. The Preacher recommended them *not to argue* upon such questions as these, but to repose *implicit faith* in the Catholic Church, which could neither err nor deceive; but at the same time his sermon must have suggested to them several arguments against Purgatory, and must have also disclosed to them the fact that the Roman Catholic Church has many adver-

¹ These abuses of the doctrine of Purgatory and Indulgences are freely pointed out by a learned Roman Catholic Writer, Dr. G. B. *Hirscher*, in his work (referred to above, p. 7) on the present State of the Church: his remarks on these points are very striking, and deserve careful consideration.

saries; and must, I conceive, have sent them away rather more disturbed than settled in their minds.

Confessions were going on in different parts of the Church during the Sermon.

On coming out of the Church, I observed on the Church-door an "avviso dell' opera di santa infanzia," a charitable association of persons for taking care of outcast unbaptized children: and a meeting was to be held of the Association to consider the names ("da imporsi a bambini infedeli") to be given to such children. A very excellent institution, especially for large towns. Would it not be better to imitate this example, rather than to agitate for the "repeal of the 29th Canon?"

Another "avviso" of a very different character was affixed to a neighbouring wall, i. e. an announcement of a new work, being "A Biography of Pope Sistus V.," and an Essay "Sull' ipocrisia della Curia Romana." Such Advertisements as these are now very common in Italy. In the Churches you may hear sermons in favour of the Pope's temporal power, while the neighbouring walls are eloquent in their denunciations of it and of every thing that belongs to the Court of Rome.

CHAPTER IX.

A VILLAGE IN THE APENNINES.

May 29, Genoa, Ascension Day.—Almost all the shops shut. Churches full at an early hour of the morning; many sailors present. Service at the English Church, Casa Rocca, Via Asarotti; an excellent Sermon by the English Chaplain, the Rev. Alfred B. Strettell.

A friend presented me with a copy of an Italian work just published, "On the Reading of the Bible¹." It is a Collection of the articles inserted in the Neapolitan journal just mentioned as the "organ of the reforming Clergy of Italy," the *Colonna di Fuoco*, in the months of February and March last. The writer says that "the ignorance of the Bible among Catholics is one of the principal causes of the absence of the virtue, knowledge, order, advancement, and liberty, which they would otherwise have;"

¹ Napoli, 1862. See also the "Secolarizzazione della Bibbia," by Monsignor Tiboni.

and the Author makes an appeal to the Government to introduce the reading of the Scriptures in the "national schools," in the mother tongue of the people. Having adduced a large number of passages from the Scriptures and the Fathers, in which the reading of the Bible is commended, the Author puts this question², "How can Romanism regard it as an evil to the faith that every Christian should read the Bible? How can Romanism forbid the reading of it? . . Ought we not rather to regard such a privation as an evil to the faith? . . According to Romanism, more evil than good is derived from reading the Bible³. And yet God commands all to read it!" This and much more of the same kind *is* found in this volume. There is nothing new in these *remarks themselves*, but there *is* something new in the fact that they are put forth by a *Roman Catholic Priest*, and are adopted by a Periodical, conducted by Roman Catholic Priests, and the exponent of the opinions of a large body among them.

The Vaudois have a large Church in the

² P. 33.

³ P. 36.

same street as that in which the English Chapel is at Genoa. Why should not Englishmen at home co-operate with their fellow-countrymen abroad in endeavouring to present the Services of the Church of England to the eyes of the people of Italy in such a manner as would commend them to their reverence and affection? The English Book of Common Prayer is the best exponent of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; and if the Services of the Book of Common Prayer were celebrated in their fulness and integrity, and with that simple dignity and beauty which is the characteristic of the English Ritual, a salutary impression would be made on the mind of Italy, and a practical refutation would be given to the imputations of heresy, schism, and latitudinarianism which are studiously propagated by many of the Roman Catholic Bishops and Clergy in Italy against the Clergy and People of England; and some progress would also be made toward an *internal* Reformation of the Church of Italy,—the only kind of Reformation which can be prosperous and permanent.

Went to some beautiful gardens in the

Acqua Sola; broad walks, overshadowed with the thick foliage of old ilexes; a large basin of water with swans floating on it; carnations on the terrace, which commanded an extensive view of the city and adjacent country; and a little Paestum of roses beneath the terrace; a charming spot for such a summer day as this.

Went in the afternoon to a beautiful country Parish in the Apennines; it is situated in a glen above a mountain stream, overshadowed with chestnut-trees; delightful fresh air. Visited the small parsonage of the Parroco, close to the Church, with a lofty belfry seen from afar; and near it a little School, built of wood and straw. The Parroco dined with us. I had the pleasure of sitting opposite to him; a well-informed, intelligent man, of grave and serious aspect and demeanour. He expressed great regard and esteem for the Church of England, and an earnest desire for union with us. "And," said he, "when the temporal power of the Papacy is abolished, then the great hindrance to that union will be removed." He drew a lively picture of the future happiness of Christendom, when that consummation is attained; it would be, he thought,

like a beginning of a golden age of peace and felicity. He was acquainted with Mamiani, the Author of *Rinascenza Cattolica*, and had imbibed similar opinions. He was much interested in hearing of an effort made by the Lower House of Convocation in the Province of Canterbury, to open communication with the Clergy of Italy, who are craving for sympathy from England, especially those among them who are thought by the Court of Rome to be too eager for Reformation⁴.

⁴ The effort referred to was in the form of an Address from certain Members of the Lower House to the Upper, Feb. 28, 1861, as follows :—

“ We, the undersigned members of the *Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury*, respectfully invite the attention of the Upper House to the opportunity now afforded by Divine Providence for the advancement of true religion in *Italy*.

“ We regard with thankfulness the facilities offered at the present time for the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in that country, and we rejoice to learn that many Italians have shown a desire to procure copies of the *English Book of Common Prayer in their own tongue*, and have expressed their approval of it.

“ We are of opinion that the Church of England ought not to remain passive and silent at so important a juncture, and we earnestly pray that she may be enabled

To-day being Ascension Day, I took occasion to observe to this learned ecclesiastic, that the

by the Divine blessing to avail herself of those means which are now vouchsafed to her of promoting the cause of Christian truth and unity in a country to which she herself was indebted in the sixth century for many spiritual benefits.

“We, therefore, humbly submit to the consideration of your Grace and your Lordships whether it might not be expedient that a committee of this Convocation should be appointed with instructions to prepare the draught of a letter from the Bishops and Clergy of this Province representing to the *Clergy and Laity of Italy* the blessings, spiritual and temporal, which, under God's providence, *this Church and Realm have continued to derive for three centuries from the English Reformation, preserving, as it did, the Holy Scriptures, the Sacraments, and the Creeds of the Christian Church, and the three Orders of the Christian Ministry, while it purified them from novelties, errors, and corruptions.*

“We would also suggest that such a communication from this Synod might convey to the Clergy and People of Italy the assurance of our hearty sympathy and co-operation in all the efforts that they may make to *follow the example of England, reforming herself*, and to maintain those Scriptural and Catholic truths and ordinances which they have inherited from primitive Antiquity, and to clear them from those abuses by which in the course of ages they have been marred and blemished.

“We therefore humbly pray your Grace and your Lord-

offices in our Book of Common Prayer correspond in many respects to those in his Breviary. "We have the same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel as you have for this festival—Ascension Day." "Yes," said he, "I also have made the 'confronto,'" and he began to quote from the Breviary the beginning of the Epistle for the Day from the Acts of the Apostles, "Primum quidem sermonem feci de omnibus, O Theophile," &c. &c., and it was a great pleasure to him, he said, "to observe the correspondence."

The English Prayer Book translated into *Italian* is very acceptable to many in Italy, and is doing great good. The "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" has rendered great service by its editions of the Book of Common Prayer in Italian, and by its liberal grants for the supply of copies of them in Italy; which are administered, I believe, through the Bishop of Gibraltar. There is now *another* work that still remains to be

ships to give the requisite directions for the appointment of a Committee, for the purpose of framing the draught of such a Letter, to be submitted to this Convocation for consideration at some early opportunity."

done, which would be of infinite service, especially in its influence on learned, intelligent, and Catholic-minded members of the Italian Episcopate and Priesthood; I mean the translation of the English Prayer Book into *Latin*. The Collects ought to be presented as nearly as may be in their *ancient Latin* dress, wherever they have been adopted from the old Latin Service-books; and the Epistles and Gospels, and other portions of Scripture, ought to be given in the *primitive*^{*} *Latin Vulgate*, wherever that version is not at variance with the original. If this were done, the Italian Clergy would see at one glance how much *we* have in common *with themselves*, and they would rejoice to know that the Church of England has a Liturgy which contains so much material with which they are familiar by daily use. The "*Breviary*" is their Manual, — their daily companion, — and the correspondence of the English Prayer Book with the Latin Breviary in the structure and arrangement of the services seems to be

^{*} I say *primitive*, because the original readings of the Vulgate have sometimes been tampered with in more recent editions.

a providential dispensation for the future union of Western Christendom.

If our Reformers had adopted the *Eastern* Calendar⁶ and Liturgy, or if they had framed an entirely *new one*, there would *not* have been these points of contact, which now exist between us and other Western Churches ; and which seem to suggest an earnest endeavour to enter into free and friendly communication with such learned and charitable members of the Italian Priesthood as this excellent Pastor, with whom it was my privilege to have some delightful, friendly, and fraternal intercourse, in this beautiful country Parish among the Apennines.

⁶ As may be seen in Daniel's Codex Liturgicus, Tom. iv. pp. 212—278, ed. Lips. 1853. For example, the Greek Church has no season of Advent ("Annus Græcorum Ecclesiasticus non orditur ab tempore *Adventûs*, quod *prorsus ignorant*—"); and its cycle of Saints' Days and other Festivals is different in many respects from that of the Western Church.

CHAPTER X.

GENOA TO LEGHORN, PISA, AND FLORENCE.

LEFT Genoa at a quarter to twelve o'clock at night for Livorno (Leghorn) by steamer, with 250 Italian soldiers on board, who were going on to Naples and Sicily. Beautiful starlight night. Arrived at Leghorn at nine in the morning. Thence to Pisa.

It is in vain to attempt to describe the beauty of the group of buildings; the Cathedral (founded A.D. 1067); and the Baptistery (founded A.D. 1153); and the Leaning Tower (founded A.D. 1174); and the frescoes and monuments, and all the interesting reminiscences of the Campo Santo (founded A.D. 1188). The comparative isolation of these glorious buildings adds greatly to their effect; they are removed from the busy haunts of men; and stand almost in a monastic solitude, —a religious retirement and sacred hermitage

of their own. In this respect they resemble those beautiful groups of ancient Temples, such as may still be seen at Rhamnus in Attica, or at Girgenti in Sicily, which were designed, it would seem, to inspire religious meditation and devotion by their comparative seclusion and silence. The sacred groves, with which they were surrounded, encouraged this pensive feeling, and ministered a soothing influence to the weary spirit, jaded by the din of the city, and resorting to their peaceful shade for quiet thoughts and holy aspirations.

Sad it is, that the spiritual quietness of this sacred spot at Pisa should now be marred by civil and religious strife. In the *Prado*, or meadow, in which the Cathedral and Baptistery stand, preparations are being made for the erection of a temporary building in which Mass is to be celebrated on Sunday next, June 1, being the *National Anniversary of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy*. And why? Because the Cardinal Archbishop of Pisa will not allow the *Cathedral* to be used for that purpose. The Pope will not permit him to do so: and the Archbishop has sent a circular to all his Clergy, threatening them

with suspension, if they take any part in the National festival. So Altar is to be erected against Altar, and Priest to be set up against Priest, almost beneath the shade of the glorious Minster, and of the sublime Baptistery in which all the infant children of Pisa are admitted by the Sacrament of Baptism into one communion and fellowship in the mystical Body of Christ. And the celebration of the Union of the States of Italy under one King is to be made the occasion of a spiritual feud and of a national schism. And this is to be the case not only at Pisa, but also at Lucca and Florence, and other great cities of Italy. The mediæval feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibellines are now raging at the doors of the Cathedrals of Italy; and this conflict will be renewed year after year on the 1st of June, till one party or the other is silenced: for, as to agreement between them, while the claims of the Papacy are what they are,—and she boasts herself to be unchangeable,—this seems to be impossible. The People are exasperated by this anti-social, anti-national, and anti-christian antagonism of the Papal Hierarchy. The Christian Scriptures command Bishops to

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offer up "prayers for Kings and all in authority¹," and condemn those who resist "the higher powers²" in any thing not contrary to the divine law. But the Pope, who professes to be the Vicegerent of God, sets himself in opposition to the Word of God, and commands the Archbishops and Bishops to punish those who obey that Word, which they are bound to preach. The consequence is that the Walls of the city of Pisa cry out against the Pope and the Hierarchy, "Abbasso il Papa-re," "Viva Italia unita," "Viva Roma Capitale d'Italia." Is it not true, that the Papacy is the cause of the schism which is now rending Italy asunder? Is it not true also, that the Papacy is the principal cause of the miserable disunion of Christendom?

Suspended to the wall in the cloisters of the "Campo Santo" at Pisa, are the long massive iron chains which once guarded the entrance of the Port of Pisa, and which were carried off in triumph some centuries ago by the rival Republic of Genoa, and have been now restored by "la generosa Genova," as an

¹ 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

² Rom. xiii. 1, 2; cp. Titus iii. 1, 1 Pet. ii. 13.

inscription states, with an expression of hope that all the remembrances of former rivalries and feuds may be buried and forgotten in the *Unity of Italy*.

Some of the most pathetic records of the departed glories of Pisa are seen in the large rusty iron rings in the walls of its Palaces on the Lung-Arno, to which the noble galleys of the Pisan Patricians were moored; and from which they were unloosed when they went forth in gilded pomp, with streamers flying, down the Arno, perhaps to a crusade in Palestine, or to a battle at Lepanto, or to meet the rival fleets of Venice, Genoa, or Florence in the waters of the Mediterranean.

All these are passed away—and Pisa is now almost a city of the dead: it is itself a “Campo Santo” of departed heroism and glory.

The interior of the Campo Santo is filled with earth brought from Jerusalem in A.D. 1228 by fifty galleys of the Republic, when the Pisans were driven from Palestine by Saladin. It is now covered with a beautiful greensward; and we sat down upon it, enjoying the fresh air and the sight of lovely roses

in full bloom clustering and twining about a monumental pillar in it.

I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing the following lines suggested by this interesting spot:—

“ Young, middle-aged, and old
From century on to century, must have known
The emotion—nay, more fitly were it said—
The blest tranquillity that sunk so deep
Into my spirit, when I paced, enclosed
In *Pisa's Campo Santo*, the smooth floor
Of its arcades, paved with sepulchral slabs,
And through each window's open fret-work looked
O'er the blank Area of sacred earth
Fetched from Mount Calvary, or haply delved
In precincts nearer to the Saviour's tomb,
By hands of men, humble as brave, who fought
For its deliv'rance—a capacious field
That to descendants of the dead it holds
And to all living mute memento breathes,
More touching far than aught which on the walls
Is pictured, or their epitaphs can speak,
Of the changed City's long-departed power,
Glory, and wealth, which, perilous as they are,
Here did not kill, but nourished, Piety.
And, high above that length of cloistral roof,
Peering in air and backed by azure sky,
To kindred contemplations ministers
The Baptistery's dome, and that which swells

From the Cathedral pile ; and with the twain
 Conjoined in prospect mutable or fixed
 (As hurry on in eagerness the feet,
 Or pause) the summit of the Leaning Tower.
 Nor less remuneration waits on him
 Who having left the Cemetery stands
 In the Tower's shadow, of decline and fall
 Admonished, not without some sense of fear,
 Fear that soon vanishes before the sight
 Of splendour unextinguished, pomp unscathed,
 And beauty unimpaired. Grand in itself
 And for itself, the assemblage, grand and fair
 To view, and for the mind's consenting eye
 A type of age in man, upon its front
 Bearing the world-acknowledged evidence
 Of past exploits, nor fondly after more
 Struggling against the stream of destiny,
 But with its peaceful majesty content.

Oh what a spectacle at every turn
 The place unfolds, from pavement skinned with moss,
 Or grass-grown spaces, where the heaviest foot
 Provokes no echoes, but must softly tread ;
 Where solitude with silence paired stops short
 Of Desolation, and to Ruin's scythe
 Decay submits not³."

How beautiful is the road between Pisa and
 Florence, at this season of the year, when the

³ "Wordsworth's Poems. Memorials of a Tour in
 Italy. Musings at Acquapendente," p. 271.

vines are in their full luxuriance of leaf, and the brooms, and mulberry-trees, and olives, diversify the scene with their foliage, and here and there the tall poplars and dark cypresses, with their spire-like forms, give almost an architectural charm to the scene: now and then the eye catches a glimpse of the river Arno in its low bed of reddish sand, and the valleys stand thick with golden crops of corn; and above them are the blue ridges of the Apennines studded with white villages.

CHAPTER XI.

FLORENCE.

Florence, Saturday, May 31st.—Called on an Ecclesiastical Dignitary, to whom I had a letter of introduction, who is connected with the “Società Ecclesiastica” of Florence, for the protection of the loyal priests against the oppressive and arbitrary despotism of the Roman Curia, which checks and punishes all religious patriotism on the part of the Priesthood, by means of the superior authority of the Bishops, who are bound by oaths of vassalage to the Roman See.

This “Società Ecclesiastica” of Florence was connected with another at Arezzo; but the deputy of the Bishop of that city (the Vicario Capitolare) has issued a circular to its members, in which he threatens them with “suspensio a divinis, ipso facto incurrenda,” unless they detach themselves from it.

The Archbishop of Florence has condemned

the Florentine "Società" here, and has threatened with suspension all the Priests who belong to it. The aggregate body of these "Ecclesiastical Societies for mutual succour" has an Episcopal President and Head, in the Kingdom of Naples, in the person of Monsignor Michele Caputo, Bishop of Ariano, and "Cappellano Maggiore" to the King; but he stands almost alone, and nearly all his Episcopal brethren are opposed to these Societies¹. The consequence is, that the Florentine "Società" has dwindled almost to nothing; it had once sixty members, and now has only twelve. All these have been suspended *a divinis* by the Archbishop; they are not allowed to say mass: and many of the loyal Clergy are now almost in a state of destitution. The few members of the Society, who still hang together, meet for the study of the Scriptures, and for mutual instruction and edification.

¹ Monsignor Caputo is now no longer living: he died at Naples on September 6th, 1862. The priest of the parish refused to administer to him the Holy Communion on his death-bed, unless he "renounced his errors:" to which the Bishop replied that he had nothing to retract, and he received the Viaticum from another Priest, Canonico Papalia.

I received from my friend a copy of the "Statuto fondamentale" of the Society, which was authorized by an Ordinance of the Government, signed by Baron Ricasoli, on October 8, 1860, of which he also gave me a copy, together with an address delivered by a distinguished Priest, Luigi Crescioli, at the first general meeting of the Society, on the 4th July, 1860.

My ecclesiastical friend, who is a grave and thoughtful person, very quiet and sedate in his manner, expressed himself with much sorrow for this state of things, but without any bitterness or rancour. He is fully persuaded that it is necessary for the Church in Italy to return to first principles ("tornare ai principii") of Christian discipline; and to examine carefully the teaching of Holy Scripture, and of the Primitive Church; and he showed an interest in the history of the Church of England. He had in his hand Massingberd's History of the Reformation, which he had been reading. He regretted the indifference of the Italian Government to the affairs of religion and the Church, and he did not see how the loyal and patriotic Clergy

could stand their ground against the almost overwhelming power of the Papacy and the Papal Episcopate. When Ricasoli was in office, the Government approved the "*Società Ecclesiastica*," but the present Administration gives it no effective support.

The fact seems to be, that the present Government is eager enough to restrain the encroachments and usurpations of the Papacy, but does not know how to raise up a solid edifice of constitutional Monarchy. It adopts now and then hard measures against the Bishops²; it brings some of them before the

² As a specimen of the feeling of the Government, and of its measures against the Episcopate, the Bill brought in by the Keeper of the Great Seal, Conforti, may be cited; in which are the following articles:—

"Art. 5. All Ordinaries (i. e. Archbishops and Bishops, &c.) of the Kingdom of Italy shall be bound to communicate copies of their *Pastorals*, *Charges*, &c. before publication, to the Minister of Justice; and such *Pastorals cannot be published before they are approved by the Keeper of the Great Seal.*

"Art. 6. All contravention of these orders will be punished by imprisonment or fine."

This Bill was brought into Parliament in July, 1862: but it was not passed, and Conforti has retired from the Ministry.

civil tribunals, and puts others into prison; it taxes Church property, and alienates the revenues of Monasteries and Convents. But it does not seem to have any well-devised plan or judicious system of Ecclesiastical Reformation; it is *destroying* a good deal, but it is not *building up* any thing; it is exasperating the Bishops, the Monastic Orders, the Ultramontane Clergy, the College of Cardinals, the Roman Congregations and Seminaries, and the Pope; but it is not conciliating any one; it is not encouraging any one; it is making no friends and adherents among the loyal and patriotic Clergy; it does indeed dole out a miserable pittance of alms to some of them; but it is giving them no moral support; it is not cherishing and encouraging their efforts, it is not raising up or bringing forward men of character, probity, integrity, and learning, who would give it wise counsel how to proceed in dealing with such a powerful and subtle antagonist as the Papacy, and who would show clearly to the Nation, by writing or otherwise, what the usurpations of the Papacy are, and what were the principles and usages of the *ancient Catholic Church*.

I have been reading the address of the priest

Crescioli, who was the Secretary, and was appointed to be the organ, of the "Società Ecclesiastica" of Florence, at its first general Meeting; it draws a melancholy picture of the decay of the spiritual influence of the Clergy, and of the consequent spread of Irreligion and Immorality, and of the alienation of a large portion of the Italian Priesthood from the Italian Episcopate: the Author states his belief that there is little hope of amelioration from the Hierarchy. I transcribe the following paragraph, delivered (it will be observed) at Florence, at a meeting of Roman Catholic *Priests*;—

"Quindi la necessità di porre un argine *al rapido scadimento del Clero e delle sane credenze*, e di tornare l'uno e le altre in onore: al fine eziandio di scongiurare la orribil catastrofe, cui la società corre incontro inevitabilmente per la stessa cagione, la quale vie sempre più progredendo ne' suoi guasti, condurrebbe difilatamente alla totale anarchia delle idee e degli affetti, allo scatenamento delle più brutali passioni, al sovvertimento d' ogni ordine religioso, morale, politico e sociale.

“Quindi le istanze frequenti e dolorosamente inutili di uomini d’ altissimo ingegno e di vasta e profonda dottrina e venerabili per la santità della vita.

“Quindi la desolante persuasione universale che in fatto di riforma, o di emenda, stolta cosa è sperare che *la iniziativa si parta dall’ alto Clero*. Per mancanza della qual persuasione, e spinto invece da fiduciosità giovanile, osai per lettere tentar l’ animo di Gregorio XVI e di Pio IX colla viva parola, e ne trassi certezza che quei sommi di ben altre e più gravi cure si stavano profondamente occupati.”

Surely some of those persons who have been tempted to quit the Church of England for that of Rome, might have done well to ponder such avowals as these from the mouths of Roman Ecclesiastics.

One of the great charms of the towns of Italy at this season, is the profusion of flowers. At the corners of the streets are floral cornucopias, full of carnations, magnolias, Canterbury bells, and geraniums of the brightest hues, contrasted with pure white lilies. The gardens of some of the Palaces are now rich in orange-trees covered with fruit, large luxu-

riant catalpa-trees in full blossom, oleanders ten feet high, with pink and white flowers, magnolias, pomegranates, &c.

Saturday Evening.—Had a visit from an Ultramontane Priest who has published several literary works. He frankly allowed that a good deal is taught in the Romish Schools and Colleges, in reference to the Church of England, which is known to be untrue; and that what is true is often concealed from the pupils. But he thought that a similar fault was also committed on our side, with regard to the Church of Rome. He therefore heartily welcomed every occasion of intercourse with members of the English Church.

His view of public affairs was not cheering. He feared that Italy would ere long be involved in civil war. The Government is obliged to levy very heavy taxes to support the immense military force which it now maintains, amounting to more than 300,000 men, which is far above the proper proportion for such a country as Italy. This produces discontent. "You must not suppose," he said, "that the people are in love with the new order of things, although you will see all

Florence illuminated to-morrow, and the national tricolor will be streaming from all the windows of the houses. You cannot judge of the people's hearts from these outward demonstrations. They are afraid to express their dissatisfaction."

"Few of the Clergy are on the side of the Government, and they who are, are not the most reputable. To give you a specimen—the other day, one of these 'loyal Clergy' was preaching at the Church of Santa Croce, in Florence, and said that the entrance of Garibaldi into Palermo was as glorious as that of our Blessed Lord into Jerusalem; and some of these liberal Clergy preach strange doctrines, as, for instance, that there is no such thing as a 'Christian Priesthood;' and that every one is a Priest to himself, &c. &c. The Italian Government is not a match for the Papacy; it has no fixed system of principles, as the Papacy has; it has no powers of cohesion and consolidation, and therefore I do not believe that the idea of an *united Italy* will ever be realized." He contrasted the profuse beneficence with which the adherents of the

Papacy had recently responded to the appeal for pecuniary help to the Pope, with the insignificant results of the subscription entered into for military aid to Garibaldi. "In the mean time, however, the cause of true religion is suffering by the conflict between the civil and spiritual power, and the result will be a triumph of infidelity and anarchy, to be followed, I suppose, by military despotism."

I asked whether the attack now made upon the Papacy might not be regarded in the light of a divine retribution for her presumptuous and tyrannical claims and usurpations?

He endeavoured to soften down these, and said that they were only to be imputed to the personal character of particular Popes, such as Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Boniface VIII.; and were no part of the *Papal System*. "But," said I, "are not these usurpations embodied in the Papal Canon Law? are they not even consecrated by the Roman Breviary, and the Roman Pontifical? They are not only the usurpations of Popes, but of

³ They may *all be found* in the latest edition of the Roman Canon Law; i.e. that of 1839, Leipsic, 2 vols. 4to.

the Papacy; and the Papacy identifies herself with them in her official documents, and she enforces the maintenance of the principles of these usurpations by the solemn oaths which she imposes upon all the Bishops of the Roman Catholic world."

My friend sent me copies of the Lent Pastorals lately put forth by many Italian Bishops; and he specially commended that of the Bishop of Lucca, who, he said, stood high for his literary attainments. It has been severely criticized by Padre Passaglia, in his *Mediatore* (5th April, 1862). On the other side, Passaglia and the many thousand priests who are associated with him in his protest against the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, are denounced by the Archbishop of Spoleto, in his Quaresimal, in the most vehement language, of which the following is a specimen:—"Chi non sa oggimai che, *inchinando ipocritamente il Pontefice*, vuole strapparglisi dalla fronte l' augusta tiara, farne un suddito, maneggiarlo a talento, e sottoporre l' azione al loro arbitrio, e alla loro influenza? E chi è finalmente che possa ignorare, che *a causa sì empia e diabolica*

tiene bordone una microscopica parte di *superbi e sciagurati ecclesiastici*, valendosi di quel carattere di cui furono insigniti dalla bontà di Dio, a decoro e gloria della sua Chiesa, per combatterla più efficacemente e prostrarla sul suolo avvilita, e coprirla di squallore?"

And yet we are sometimes assured that the Church of Rome is perfectly united; and she allures many to her communion by a promise of peace!

The same Archbishop exhorts the people of his Diocese to resort to the Blessed Virgin for aid, in these times of religious division; and he assures them that "the arm of Mary will lay prostrate the enemies of the Church."

These Pastorals are important documents as coming from the Bishops of Italy at a time which, as they all allow and affirm, is very critical for the Church of Rome. Indeed, the present juncture is the most eventful one for the Church of Italy, since the time of the Council of Trent. I have before me the Episcopal Charge of the Bishop of Guastalla, who says that "inasmuch as the Pope has

declared that the spiritual and temporal power of the Papacy are not to be separated, all efforts to separate them are schismatical." The Bishop of Montalcino condemns all the attempts of the religious reformers of Italy; and he also grounds his hopes of the final triumphs of the Papacy on the "intercession of the Blessed Virgin, who is reigning in heaven, clothed in light more brilliant than the sun, honoured by angels, venerated by an immense multitude of virtuous Italians, who commend themselves with confidence to her." Here also are the Charges of the Archbishops of Pisa and Florence, and the Bishops of Narni, and of Orvieto and Perugia, and Cefalù in Sicily. The language of all these Manifestos betokens much uneasiness; much alarm at the prospect of Reforms, or (as they call them) Revolutions in the Church; and implicit devotion to the Pope, both as a temporal and spiritual Ruler.

The Bishop of Cefalù supplies some particulars concerning the Indulgences given by the present Pope to encourage the erection and endowment of a Roman Catholic Church

in *London*; and states that 200,000 francs have been already raised for it, and informs his Clergy that he has been desired to give orders that Collections should be made for it in his Diocese.

What would the Pope say of a similar subscription, set on foot by English Bishops, for an English Church at Rome?

CHAPTER XII.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

Sunday, June 1.—Went to the English Church, Via Maglio, at eleven A.M., and half-past three P.M.

The city was illuminated to-day, being the "Festa dello Statuto." The Piazza dell'Indipendenza was the centre of the gaiety. There was little creative invention in the arrangement of the lamps; no devices; not even any mottoes; not much enthusiasm or joy in the look of the people; indeed this is a time of anxiety and suspense. Tuscany has lost its ancient nationality; and the Kingdom of Italy is not yet constituted. It has no capital. It is a body without a head. In this state of uncertainty, Commerce and Trade suffer. No one can tell what will come next.

I went to the Duomo; only a small congregation there, even at ten in the morning.

The people are much vexed and annoyed, because the Archbishop, acting under orders from Rome (of May 18, 1861), will not allow the national Anniversary to be celebrated, or in any way recognized in the Cathedral. I was therefore surprised to see in the evening that the *exterior* of the cupola of the Cathedral was illuminated. On inquiring of one of the Canons of the Cathedral the reason of this discrepancy, I was informed by him that the *external* decorations, and the *material* repairs of the Cathedral, are under the management of a separate Corporation, distinct from that which has the control of the ritual of that church.

Here is a striking specimen of the conflict which is now rending this country in pieces. On this Sunday, June 1st, the festival of the King and the Nation, the interior of this noble Cathedral shows no sign of joy and thankfulness; it is possessed, as it were, with a deaf and dumb spirit; its Archbishop and Clergy will listen to no entreaties, and refuse to utter a single syllable of supplication for the Monarch and the People. But the exterior of the Cathedral is one blaze of light, and exults

in an ecstasy of joy. The greatest Church of Tuscany is a house divided against itself—a melancholy specimen and epitome of the state of Italy at this crisis; and an omen, it is to be feared, of coming sorrows.

Another unhappy demonstration of the same spirit of discord showed itself in the beautiful suburb of this magnificent city. The National Festival could not be celebrated in the Cathedral; the Bishop of Rome would not allow it. But the Civil Powers of Florence rightly deemed that a religious celebration of this Anniversary was a homage due to the Divine Arbiter of the destiny of Nations, and a public acknowledgment that the happiness of a State depends on His protection and blessing. They therefore gave directions for such a celebration in the *Cascine*, or suburban Park of the City; and it was performed there by a military Chaplain, who exposed himself thereby to censure and suspension from his Ecclesiastical Superior.

I afterwards heard that the Military Chaplains, who officiated in a similar ceremony at Pisa, at Lucca, and Leghorn, were threatened with suspension by their Bishops, and

that by some dexterous manœuvre of the Colonels of their regiments they were rescued from Ecclesiastical penalties.

The Bishop of Guastalla also has forbidden his Clergy to take part in the national festival, and placed his Cathedral under an interdict because he heard that the Chapter of the Cathedral intended to celebrate the Anniversary there. The Bishop's letter on the occasion to his Chapter and Clergy is such a remarkable document,—as an indication of the temper of the times,—that it deserves to be placed upon record:—

“Modena, 29 Maggio, 1862.

“Illustrissimi Signori,

“Veduto il pubblico avviso di codesto Municipio in data del 26 corrente dove si annunzia, che nella p. v. domenica, in occasione della festa nazionale si farà ancora una funzione religiosa nella nostra Cattedrale, a cui si presta, dicesi, spontaneo il Capitolo;

“Meravigliato che, dopo i nostri ordini, espressi della stessa Congregazione dei vescovi e regolari, si ardisca di venire ad una così

flagrante violazione delle leggi ecclesiastiche e a così oltraggioso disprezzo dell' autorità;

“Noi, tenendo fermo quanto abbiamo disposto, e riservandoci di procedere contro quegli ecclesiastici, cui sappiamo doversi in particolare ascrivere la promozione di questo scandalo, abbiamo decretato che *resti sull' atto interdetta quella chiesa di Guastalla, dove si farà domenica prossima una straordinaria religiosa funzione, senza Nostro permesso, e in onta a quanto alle SS. VV. Ill^{me} è stato più volte comunicato.*

“Esterniamo intanto alle SS. VV. la Nostra stima e considerazione.

“*All' originale sottoscritto*

“*PIETRO Vescovo di Guastalla.*”

The Vice-President of the “Società Ecclesiastica” of Florence, Canonico Luigi Ricasoli, has published a notification to the effect that —“Since all the Priests of that Society are *suspended by the Archbishop of Florence*, and cannot therefore officiate in their clerical character, on the day of the Statuto, they desire to testify their loyalty and patriotism

by a manifesto of their principles." It contains the following protestations:—

"Che Essi" (i. e. the members of the Society) "non hanno mai infranto il giuramento spontaneamente e liberamente prestato al Re eletto Vittorio Emanuele II., ed allo Statuto fondamentale del Regno.—Che finalmente, mantenendosi veri e sinceri cristiani, cattolici, apostolici, hanno pregato e pregano tanto in particolare, quanto nelle loro raunanze, perchè tutti i Ministri della Santa Chiesa, deposti i secolari desiderj, e rinunziati i caduchi beni terreni, aspirino solo agli spirituali e celesti che guidano alla vita eterna; perchè tornino a benedire ed abbracciare nella pace del Signore e nella fraterna carità tutti i fedeli cristiani, ed in particolare i figli di questa prediletta Italia, riconciliandoli col CAPO visibile della Chiesa, che è pure italiano. Pregarono e pregano finalmente per la concordia di tutti i figli d'Italia, affinchè spenti gli odj ed abolite le infami sette, si abbraccino nel santo vincolo di carità per concorrere tutti alla completa unificazione ed al finale trionfo della Nazione.

" Viva l'Italia libera ed Una.

*" Viva Vittorio Emanuele Il Re Costitu-
zionale.*

" Viva la Vera Religione di Gesù Cristo.

" Il Vice-Presidente

" LUIGI RICASOLI,

" Can. de la Metrop. Fiorentina.

" F. CALDINI,

" Segretario Generale."

On the other hand the National Anniversary was celebrated by the Chapter of the Cathedral of Milan (which has no Bishop now) and in some other Churches. I believe that the Bishops of Cremona, Larino, and Mazzara were present at the celebration in their Cathedrals.

The Bishop of Como has also shown more toleration in this matter than most of his Episcopal brethren. But Monsignor Tommaso Ghilardi, Bishop of Mondovi, sent a circular to the Clergy of his Diocese, in which he told them that *every Church* where the national festival was celebrated, would be placed under an Interdict. Even the Capitular Vicars have issued similar letters. The

Vicario Capitolare of Grosseto announced to the Clergy of that Diocese, that in "consequence of the prohibition from the *Roman Penitentiary*" all Parish Priests were rigorously forbidden to take any part in any religious ceremony connected with the Anniversary.

Such is the state of things now: Bishops against Clergy; Clergy divided among themselves; the Government and the People at war with the Episcopate; Society distracted, and Religion suffering from the heat of parties and the strife of tongues.

Monday, June 2nd.—A Florentine Ecclesiastic informed me to-day that there are six Bishoprics now vacant in Tuscany, and a great many Parishes left without Incumbents: the reason is, as was before intimated, that the Pope will not give the required "bulls of institution" to the King's nominees to *Episcopal Sees*; and the Bishops, who are the Pope's subjects, bound to him by oaths of vassalage, will not give institution to the King's nominees to the *benefices* in the royal patronage.

The result of this conflict between the King

and the Pope is very hurtful to religion and morality. I asked why the Government did not dispense with the Papal institution. "Hanno paura," was the reply. I asked whether the Government did not remember the inscription on the Palazzo Vecchio of the city, "Rex regum et Dominus dominantium." The Government need not fear the Pope, if it can prove to the People, as might easily be done, that the Pope, in claiming a right to deprive the cities of Italy of Chief Pastors, is setting himself in opposition, not only to the King of Italy, but to the "Rex regum et Dominus dominantium," that he is robbing Christ's flock of the spiritual food and guidance which He willed that they should have. Let the Rulers of Italy show to the people of Italy that the Pope has not religion on his side, as he pretends to have, but is resisting the will of God, and is pursuing an Antichristian policy; then they will be able to withstand the Papacy: but they will not be able to resist it by secular arguments alone, and by political considerations; and even if they were, they would have no solid foundation for their own authority, because, by

abandoning the principles of true religion, they would have created a spirit of irreligion among the people, and would have given impulse to a revolutionary movement, which will not spare the civil institutions of the country, but will eventually be destructive of the Monarchy.

I do not desire to mingle the solemn considerations, derivable from the prophecies of Holy Scripture, with these desultory reflections, but I cannot forbear observing that the Book of Revelation contains a remarkable prediction that the "Kings of the Earth,"—the secular Powers of this world,—will inflict severe chastisement on the mystical Babylon; and after they have done the deed, they "will weep over her, and bewail her¹." May not this perhaps be, because *any* religion, however corrupt it may be, is better than *no religion at all?* and because by weakening the power of Rome, without providing, at the same time, any sound religious foundation for their Thrones, they will have exposed their People to the ravages of Irreligion and Un-

¹ Rev. xviii. 9.

belief, which must be productive of a restless, factious, and anarchical spirit, that will have no more reverence for Sovereigns than it has for Popes, and will involve their Kingdoms in confusion and ruin ?

The traditional authority of the old local municipalities in the great cities of Italy,—such as Genoa, Milan, Florence, Pisa, and Naples,—has been impaired by recent events which have dissipated that bright vision of “Italian Commonwealths, each city a star-like seat of ancient glory.” Their light has been eclipsed by the splendid promise of Italian Unity.

The once potent influence of Romanism as a system of *religious* belief acting upon practice, is also becoming hourly weaker and weaker in Italy, and this decay of its influence renders it a duty more urgent and imperative to raise up another and sounder spirit of Religion, as a substitute in its place. The fabric of Italian Society is like a venerable old building, whose foundations have been loosened by the decay of religion; and if the building is not *shored up*, it must fall. If measures are not adopted for strengthening

the social structure, the result is inevitable. It is not Victor Emmanuel who will triumph, nor is it the Papacy which will gain the day, but an Infidel and ruthless Democracy will reign victorious, and will ravage Italy with its fierce passions, and will reduce this beautiful land to a desolate wilderness.

CHAPTER XIII.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

June 3.—Called this morning on a celebrated Italian Advocate. Like many other intelligent men of his class, he appeared to think that the destruction of the Pope's temporal power would be the panacea for the evils of Italy; and that it is necessary to strain every nerve to obtain that result; and that other reforms, political and religious, would then follow as a matter of course. "Let us once get Rome, and then all the questions which were debated at your English Reformation in the sixteenth Century will come upon us—yes, flow in upon us in a torrent, before we are prepared for them." "Why then do you not prepare for them now?" "La politica assor-bisce tutto," was the reply: *that* is the answer now generally given to all such questions. Politics absorb every thing; and all politics

seem to be merged in this one consideration, How are we to get Rome? How are we to dethrone the Pope, and crown Victor Emmanuel King of Italy, in the Roman Capitol?

In the evening I called upon one of the most learned Ecclesiastics of Florence; he spoke with fervid eloquence on the present crisis. "Nothing," he said, "can be more painful and disastrous than the struggle between the spiritual and temporal power. 'Non finirà senza sangue.' It will not end without bloodshed. This political conflict is also very injurious to our literature. No great literary work can be undertaken by us now. People read newspapers and political pamphlets and little else. It is a national characteristic of Italians to be jealous of one another, and to be intolerant of one another's merit, and therefore we do not work harmoniously together; and we are too impetuous and passionate, and do not consider things calmly, and are too proud to learn of others."

He deplored in strong terms,—quite as strong as those used by Filippo Perfetti in his book lately published at Florence,—the present degraded condition of the Clergy; they

are, he said, for the most part, “senza istruzione,” illiterate and ignorant: and he deplored that many of them, to use his own word, are “scostumatissimi.”

“Our Episcopate is debased—our Bishops are slaves of the Pope, and despots of the Clergy, and of the People. What a glorious opportunity was that which our own Archbishop had in the present week of asserting the true character of the Christian Episcopate! The Pope commanded him not to pray for the King and the Nation in the Cathedral: the Pope commanded him to prevent the Clergy and the People of Florence from praying for the King and the Nation. Monstrous usurpation! Ought not the Archbishop to have remonstrated with the Pope? Ought he not to have withstood the Pope, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to the face when he was to be blamed¹; and ought he not to have reminded him that Almighty God commands us to pray for Kings and all in authority²; and that in forbidding us to pray for our King and our Country, the Pope is resisting God?”

¹ Gal. ii. 11.

² 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

He spoke of certain recent publications, which had called attention to the usurpations of the Curia Romana; for instance, the book entitled, "Rome des Papes," by Count Luigi Pianciani, who (he said) had the best opportunities of observing the working of the tribunals, &c., at Rome. There are also the publications of Filippo Perfetti (formerly Secretary of Cardinal Marini and Librarian of the University), entitled, "*The Clergy and Society* ; or, *on the Reformation of the Church*," ("Il Clero e la Società," &c.) "*Remembrances of Rome*," ("Ricordi di Roma,") and "*On the new conditions of the Papacy*," ("Delle nuove condizioni del Papato"); also, the remarkable work of Abate Rosmini, "*The five wounds of the Holy Church*," ("Le cinque piaghe della Santa Chiesa,") and "*Urgent Questions*," by Massimo D'Azeglio.

"However," said he, "do not imagine that I wish to say any thing against the *Church* of Rome; it is against the *Court* of Rome, and its *secular* authorities that I am speaking; her pride and lust of power—*there* is the cause of our misery; and I am saying nothing new.

Ever since the eighth century there has been a succession of illustrious men who have protested against its usurpations. It is the union of the temporal and spiritual power, and the carnal abuse of the spiritual power by the Papacy for its own ambition and aggrandizement, that has done the mischief. It is Dante who says ³:—

‘la Chiesa di Roma
Per confondere in sè due reggimenti
Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la soma.’”

The names of Petrarch and Arnald of Brescia and Guicciardini were also mentioned as exponents of the same feeling; and when I referred to the remarkable chapter ⁴, in which Guicciardini traces the rise and progress of the Papal power, but which was not allowed by the Papal censors to appear in the Italian edition of his History, he said that some other remarks of the same distinguished writer on the same subject, had recently been published,

³ Purgatorio, Canto xvi.

⁴ In the Fourth book of his History.

for the first time, in a collection of his "Opere inedite" by Canestrini, at Florence ⁵.

"We must *begin*," said he, "with questions concerning the proper limits of the Pope's authority and jurisdiction, and then we may arrive in due time at reformation in matters of doctrine. Among those which would first come under consideration, are the celibacy of the Clergy, and the enforcement of private confession to a Priest."

"Yes," I added, "and the reading of the Scriptures by all."

"True," he replied, "we must come to that. In the mean time, Religion suffers from the struggle between the Roman Hierarchy on the one side, and the Government and People on the other; and from the conflict also between our Bishops on one side, and many of the Priesthood on the other. If you had been here last month, the month of May, the 'Mese di Maria,' which is the season most favourable

⁵ Printed by G. Barbèra, Via Faenza, who also promises an edition of all the remains of Fra Paolo Sarpi, to be edited by Perfetti: a very valuable work for the present times.

for popular devotion, you would have seen that some of our Churches were almost empty. We are passing through a severe crisis. No one can tell to what it may lead."

In the beginning of the fourteenth century the illustrious Florentine Poet, Dante Alighieri, wrote his treatise "*De Monarchiâ*," in which he contended for the rights of civil Rulers against the usurpations of the Papacy; and about two hundred and twenty years afterwards the noble Florentine historian, Francesco Guicciardini, wrote his History of his own time, in which he who was the favoured friend and counsellor of two Florentine Popes of the house of the Medici, Leo X. and Clement VII., has drawn the masterly sketch, already noticed⁶, of the rise and progress of the Papacy. He there shows how, from slender beginnings, the Popes gradually arose to power; how for many centuries the Popes were nominated by the Emperors; but in course of time, when the Empire became weak, the election of Popes was transferred from their hands to those of the Cardinals;

⁶ Above, p. 231.

and the Popes proceeded to claim a veto upon the nomination of the Emperors, and then to exercise a power of dethroning them; and so, step after step, rising higher and higher, and urging new claims, and using the terrors of spiritual weapons for temporal ends, and wielding the thunders and lightnings of a double supremacy, they kept Sovereigns in awe, and trampled all earthly Powers under their feet. Guicciardini's words are as follows:—

“His igitur fundamentis et modis ad terrenam potestatem elati, et sensim animarum salutis divinorumque præceptorum obliti, atque ad mundana imperia omni cogitatione conversi, nec divinâ auctoritate alio quàm quasi telo et instrumento rerum fragilium abutentes, Principes potiùs gentium quàm rerum sacrarum Pontifices videri cœperunt. Horum curæ et negotia non jam vitæ sanctimonia, non religionis incrementa, non ergà Deum et homines caritas, sed exercitus, sed bella in Christianos, sed pecuniæ immensa cupido, novæ leges, novæ artes, novæ insidiæ ad pecuniam undique cogendam; in hunc finem audacissimè arma cœlestia vibrare, profanarum sacrarumque rerum nundinationem impuden-

tissimè exercere. Hinc opes in immensum adauctæ, et in totam ipsorum aulam effusæ, ex quibus fastus luxus, mores turpissimi, libidines voluptatesque nefandæ."

Wonderful words, especially as coming from the Secretary of the Pope!

In this Chapter two recent publications have been mentioned, which, as they throw much light on the history of Religion in Italy at this time, deserve some further remark.

The first of these is entitled, "*The Clergy and Society, or on the Reformation of the Church*," it is written by *Filippo Perfetti*, a Priest, who was Secretary of Cardinal Marini, and Librarian of the University of Rome, and President of the Collegio Ghislieri, and who now occupies a literary post at Perugia.

It was published at Florence in the present year.

"It is a melancholy sight," he says, "and one which ought to afflict the heart of every Christian, to see the Church of Rome and its partizans abusing the name of Religion for temporal interests; and it is still more dreadful to think that this grievous abuse does not

offend the consciences of all: but that, on the contrary, a man is denounced as an enemy of the Church, and a scholar of Macchiavelli, who protests against such a violation, and is indignant at this confusion of secular and holy things."

He deplores the consequent inability of Religion to do her proper work of social sanctification. "The Church and Society are severing themselves from one another more and more. We have a Laity which is no longer religious, and a Clergy without moral influence. What will become of us? A few Priests, scattered here and there, raise a feeble voice against these evils, and they are met by maledictions!

"At a time, while civil Governments are becoming more popular, and are assuming representative forms, and submit to be controlled and criticized, the Government of the Church and its Hierarchy are becoming more and more despotic; the Priest is merged into the Bishop, and the Bishop is absorbed into the Pope. The crowning dogma of all clerical education is *idolatry of the Pope. The Pope is the Church.*

"The Episcopate has had the boldness to declare to the Clergy of Italy that they have an absolute and unlimited right to suspend any Priest at their pleasure, without giving any reason for such suspension. Christ made them Ministers, and they have made themselves Despots.

"What is the use of our remonstrance? Let the Churches of Italy perish" (is the reply); "it matters not, if their sacrifice can maintain the Pope on his throne! Let the souls and bodies of the People perish; it matters not, if Revolution is thus goaded to excesses, and is conquered by a malignant policy!"

The Author next speaks of the separation between the Clergy and the People in the public offices of Religion.

"What is now the state of things in our churches, at the time of public worship, even at the celebration of the holiest mysteries of our Religion? The People are either indifferent to what is going on, or pray without attending to what is being done by the Priest. There is a wide gulph between Priest and People, in that very place, and at the very

time, when Priest and People ought to be united before God with one heart. The Priest is isolated in the very centre of the sublimest mysteries; he stands isolated at the Altar; he stands isolated at the tombs of the Martyrs. The People know not, care not for what is going on; till they are wakened from their lethargy, not by the human voice, but as if they were mere animals, by the metallic tinkle of a bell, which is a signal to the sheep of Christ!"

He then considers the Clergy in their *moral* relation to the People; and shows how the Clergy are incapacitated from exercising a moral influence on the popular mind by the position into which they have been forced by the Papacy—a position antagonistic to the Nation, to its liberty, its intelligence, and its advancement. Besides, the Clergy, as a body, he says, who ought to be Teachers of the people, are inferior in learning to the educated classes of the laity; and if any one stands forth from among the Clergy, and distinguishes himself from the rest of the Clerical body by genius or learning,—such as Gioberti, Rosmini, and Passaglia,—he is proscribed by the Hierarchy, or is driven astray, as Lamennais.

"Who can justify," he asks, "the conduct of Rome toward those great names?"

"The Clergy have need of two Reforms: a reform in their morals, and a reform in their influence on society; and neither of these is possible, while the domination of the Hierarchy is unlimited as it now is. The action of the Hierarchy must be restrained within the limits of the *divine constitution of the Church*."

To effect this reform, Italy must *return* to the principles and practices of the Church Catholic as displayed in the Holy Scriptures, and in the works of the primitive Fathers of the Church.

The misfortune is, that the Clergy of Italy, he observes, are not acquainted with the Bible.

"The Bible, interpreted by the Church, is the food of the soul. What was the teaching of the holy Fathers? It was the exposition of the Bible. But now our Catholic populations are ignorant of the Bible; they who are called *devout* among us are ignorant of the Bible, no less than they who are indifferent to religion. The Scriptures have been supplanted by a scholastic Theology; and this scholastic

Theology has produced the results which we see and deplore. The Priesthood has set itself up in the place of the Bible, instead of building itself up with the Laity upon the foundation of the Bible. One of the greatest sins of the Catholic Priesthood is that of having wrested the Bible out of the hands of the People. Let us return to the Bible; let us return to the Gospel; and let us dive deep into the holiness of the character of the Divine Redeemer; He is our pattern; let us conform ourselves to His life, to His image. If this had been our rule, who among us would have ventured to compare the Pope, who destroys us, to the Son of God who has saved us? Perhaps the extravagant idolatry of the Papacy, which our own age has witnessed, and still sees, is permitted by God in order that we all, both Pastors and flock, may be revolted thereby, and be driven to the love and practice of Christian humility and charity."

He concludes with stating his opinion, that, for the restoration of the Church to its proper position, it is requisite that the People and the Clergy should recover their ancient rights

in the election of Bishops. "*Let the People and the Clergy with the Metropolitan choose their Bishops*’."

It is probable, that, unless the Government of Italy adopts some measures for adjusting this question of election, it may find that the present suspension of the action of Concordats between itself and the Papacy may lead, sooner than it is aware, to a *popular* election of Bishops, without any reference to the Crown.

The other volume, to which I have referred, is that of the Abate *Antonio Rosmini*, entitled, "*Le cinque piaghe della Santa Chiesa*," "The five wounds of Holy Church."

It is not possible to do justice to this remarkable work by a brief abstract. The tone of saintly piety and serious earnestness which pervades the work, the stores of sound learning which are contained in it, the clear, calm, and unimpassioned statement of wrongs and their remedies, contribute to render it an admirable specimen of genuine Christian philosophy.

I shall content myself with stating what in

¹ P. 56.

² The edition to which I refer was published at Naples in 1860.

the mature judgment of this holy man, exemplary priest, and profound philosopher, the *wounds* of the Church of Italy are, which are now bleeding, and implore aid.

They are as follows :—

1. The severance of the Clergy from the People in *public worship* (pp. 1—19). The remedy for that would be, he says, in the substitution of the *mother tongue* of the people for a dead language.

2. The *insufficient education of the Clergy*. He deplores the neglect of the Scriptures, and of primitive Theology; and the substitution of miserable, dry, and jejune epitomes of the dogmatic teaching of the Schools. “Who will restore,” he asks, “to the Church her great Teachers? ‘i suoi grandi libri,’ the Bible, and the primitive Fathers?” (pp. 20—45.)

3. The *disunion of Bishops*; the transformation of Bishops into feudal lords, striving for wealth and power, and exercising an arbitrary power over the Clergy. The reform would be in the restoration of the duties and privileges of the Metropolitans, and in the action of Synods (pp. 45—68).

4. The *appointment of Bishops by the State*,

without any of the safeguards, which were provided in the ancient Church, by the intervention of the Clergy and People in the choice of Bishops (pp. 68—151).

5. *The control of Ecclesiastical property by the State*; and the remedy is, that the Church, by which the Author means the Laity as well as the Clergy, should have the free administration of her own revenues. He is very earnest in his advocacy of a return to the practice of resorting to the free-will offerings of the People for pious and charitable purposes.

This Volume was completed in the year 1846, at the accession of Pius IX.; when the Author entertained a sanguine hope, that the Pope, whose intimate friend and counsellor he was, would adopt these suggestions of reformation. This fact should be remembered by the reader, who may feel some surprise in seeing that the Author throws a veil over the corruptions and usurpations of the Papacy. While he inveighs strongly against the arbitrary abuses of the *civil* power in the appointment of Bishops, he says nothing of the usurpations of the Papacy in that respect.

The Pope offered him a Cardinal's hat; which he declined.

When Pope Pius IX. changed his policy, Rosmini was disgraced, arrested, and sent to Naples; and then exiled from Southern Italy, and his book was condemned by the Church of Rome: he submitted to the Papal sentence, and died at Stresa on the Lago Maggiore in 1855, at the age of fifty-five.

In the edition of this work, which is before me, there is an interesting letter (pp. 175—177) on the ancient *elections of Bishops by the Clergy and People*, written at Stresa, 8th June, 1848, and a second letter (p. 178), in which the Author expressed a hope, that Carlo Alberto might be induced to cede his own rights of nomination, to the Clergy and People of the Dioceses of his Kingdom; and he does not hesitate to avow his conviction, that “*le elezioni de' Vescovi a Clero e Popolo sono di diritto divino*” (p. 178), and he concludes with these prophetic words, “*Although at the present time the Christian People (of Italy) seems to take little interest in the appointment of Bishops, the time will come when it will take the greatest interest in that question.*”

That prophecy is now fulfilled. The question of the election of Bishops in Italy is one of urgency at the present crisis; and unless the Government of Italy takes measures for the equitable settlement of that question, the day may arrive, when (to quote the Author's words in the same page) "the People of Italy will wrest from the grasp of the Sovereign the liberty of choosing their Bishops."

CHAPTER XIV.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

June 4.—I heard to-day that the work of colportage of religious books is becoming more difficult in Tuscany than it was a year ago. The Archbishop of Florence has made strong remonstrances against it: and the Laws of Tuscany against reading the Bible, though not actually enforced, still remain unrepealed. At the same time it may be mentioned as an encouraging fact, that several hundreds of the middle and poorer classes meet habitually at Florence to read the Bible.

A friend told me, that last year a tract—denouncing the errors of Popery—had been circulated among the soldiers at the Cascine on June 1, but that those who circulated it then, would not venture to do so now. May not this change in the temper of the authori-

ties be due in a great measure to the somewhat indiscreet zeal, and aggressive spirit, in which the work of religious propagandism has been often carried on? In the shop-window of the "Libreria Evangelica," in the Via Tornabuoni in Florence, I saw a print, in which the principal doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic Church were exposed to contempt: and I was assured, that Roman Catholic Priests, who were attracted to the window by the print, which represents the inside of a Roman Catholic Church, turned from it with expressions of anger and indignation, which they showed by spitting upon it. In their eyes it was a profane and blasphemous caricature. Surely such representations as these are as uncharitable and unchristian, as they are imprudent and injudicious. St. Paul was the most courageous and zealous of Christian Missionaries. But his courage and zeal were guided by wisdom, and regulated by charity, and he showed his wisdom and charity by endeavouring to conciliate and win the affections of his heathen audience. As a Christian Preacher, he began his addresses to them with referring to matters in which he

and they were of the *same mind*; and *not* to things in which he *differed* from them. He entered into their feelings: he sympathized with them, he identified himself with them, *as far as he could*. He placed himself on *their* ground, and endeavoured to look at things from *their* point of view. Thus, for instance, in preaching to the men of Athens, he took his text from the Altar which he had seen in their own city¹. The declaration of the town-clerk of Ephesus is a remarkable tribute to the moderation and wisdom of Apostolic missionary preaching; “Ye have brought hither these men, who are neither robbers of churches (temples), nor *yet blasphemers of your goddess*”².

But now-a-days some missionaries and preachers of the Gospel,—the Gospel of peace and love,—seem to think, that they cannot do better, than in commencing their appeals to those whom they wish to convert, by outraging their most cherished affections, and revolting all their most deeply-rooted convictions. And these zealous missionaries are highly offended,

¹ Acts xvii. 23.

² Acts xix. 37.

and greatly exasperated, and perhaps complain that they are "persecuted for righteousness' sake," if their efforts at proselytism are restrained; and so, by their indiscreet zeal, they damage the holy cause which they go forth to serve.

Surely there is a wide domain of common ground between ourselves and the intelligent Clergy and Laity of Italy, in which we may meet together, and calmly deliberate concerning the fundamental principles of Christianity. They agree with us in reverence for the Bible, and for the doctrine and discipline of the primitive Church. They agree with us in acknowledging the authority of the Three Creeds, the necessity of a Priesthood for the preaching of the Gospel, and for the administration of the Christian Sacraments. Ought we not to *begin* with those points in which *they* are seeking Reformation, namely, in matters which concern the jurisdiction of the Papacy? They are prepared to determine these questions by an appeal to Holy Scripture, and to the ancient laws and usages of the Christian Church. Might we not render essential service, in promoting their desires

and endeavours in this respect? Might we not aid them, in diffusing information concerning the laws of Church Government in primitive times? Might we not aid them, in proving to the People of Italy, that the claims of the Pope to regulate the appointment of Bishops throughout Italy, and to *impose oaths* of *vassalage* upon them, are *not* founded on Scripture, nor on the authority of Christian Antiquity, but are *novel* and *unjust usurpations*? Might we not assist them, in opening the way for the appointment of pious, wise, and learned men to the vacant Bishoprics and Parochial Cures in Italy; of men unfettered by trammels of subjection to the Papacy, and free from the bondage of unrighteous oaths? And if a change were made in the position of the Hierarchy and Priesthood in these respects, would not a door be opened for reforms from *within*, in a regular and orderly manner?

The Clergy and People of Italy are *not* yet ripe for polemical discussions of controverted points of *theology*; but they *are* prepared and eager for the investigation of questions of Church *discipline*; and the work of Reforma-

tion might be commenced with an appeal to Christian Antiquity,—especially to the Christian Antiquity of *Italy*,—in order to settle the true limits of the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction. There are providential circumstances which render this appeal not only seasonable, but imperative. The fact that two of the greatest Archiepiscopal sees of Italy are now void,—Milan and Turin,—and that thirty-two other Bishoprics are vacant, by reason of the conflict between the Pope and the King; and the fact also, that it is uncanonical and unjust to *keep those sees vacant*, afford a favourable occasion for the discussion and settlement of the whole question concerning the relative rights of the Crown, the Clergy, and the People, in the nomination and appointment of Bishops; and this discussion would not fail to reveal a series of usurpations on the part of the Papacy, and in *other* respects would prepare the way for a general examination of its claims, temporal and spiritual.

Let the Churches of England, Ireland, and America, and of the Colonies of Great Britain, invite the Church of Italy to meet them on this

common ground of Christian Antiquity; let them assist the Church of Italy in an honest endeavour to ascertain, what were the rights of the Italian Clergy and People in the fourth century, and what were then the Laws and Usages of the Italian Church, and what was then the extent of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. Thus Italy might obtain a peaceful solution of the difficulties which now embarrass her. She might, by God's help, emancipate herself from the thralldom of Rome, without breaking the bands of the Gospel, and casting away the cords of Christianity: rather, she would be strengthening those sacred bands and cords, which are the surest pledges and safeguards of national peace and prosperity; and the Italian Monarchy would rest securely on the solid basis of ancient Catholic Truth.

CHAPTER XV.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

Wednesday Afternoon.—Went to the Pitti Palace and Boboli Gardens. We made friends with an old gardener, who had lived there thirty years, and had seen many changes in the occupation of the princely Palace; and, like the broom in the fable of a late English Poet, had remained in his place, while the princely oaks had been torn up by political storms.

In a time of social and political restlessness, he had passed his days peacefully among these trees, and shrubs, and flowers, like Homer's old¹ Laertes, who spent his time quietly in his vineyard, while the suitors of Penelope were rioting in the Palace of Ulysses; or like Virgil's "Corycian old man," who dwelt peaceably among his roses and amid his beehives,

¹ Homer, *Odyss.* xxiv. 225.

and beneath the shade of his lindens and his elms², while the Roman world was distracted by civil wars; or like the peasant, whom Claudian describes as dwelling in the neighbourhood of Verona, but who rarely went beyond the range of his paternal fields, and lived in a peaceful old age, unconscious of social feuds and untouched by political revolutions³. Our old gardener led us to a short wooden ladder fixed against a wall, and from the top of it we enjoyed one of the most interesting and beautiful views which can any where be seen. In the distance were the blue ridges of the Apennines, crested with old cities, such as Fæsulæ, dating from the days of the early Etruscans, and more ancient than Rome. Beneath us lay the city of Florence, with its noble buildings, suggestive of recollections of Dante, and Brunelleschi, and Savonarola, and Michael Angelo, and Galileo, and the Medicean Princes and Popes. On our right was the Church of Santa Croce, the Westminster Abbey of Florence; —more to the left was the Duomo, the St. Paul's of Florence, with its glorious cupola and lofty campanile, and the roof of the Baptistery;

² Georgic iv. 125—145.

³ Claudian, Epigram ii.

and, still more to the left, the Church of San Lorenzo, and that of S. Maria Novella: and the Vale of the Arno flowing toward the Mediterranean Sea.

The Boboli gardens with their dark avenues of ilex and laurustinus and other evergreens, and their funereal cypresses, had a gloomy appearance, and there was a black thunder-storm brooding in the clouds above us, which added to the solemnity of the scene; and the long and lofty terraces, and high flights of stately stone steps leading up to them, and the walks of these princely gardens, now deserted—but formerly alive and brilliant with gay companies of Florentine princes, and patricians, and fair ladies in holiday costume—produced a sad and melancholy impression, which was in harmony with the prospect before us.

The ancient glories of Florence have glided away like a dream: the independence of this once famous Republic has disappeared: the national dignity, which it enjoyed as a separate principality, has floated away like a phantom, chased by the visionary day-dream of an united Italy. What will its future be? The olive-trees, some of which the gardener told us were 400

years old, seemed to be the most permanent living objects in the scene.

This evening an ecclesiastical friend, connected with the Church of S. Lorenzo, paid us a visit. He said that the original Church of S. Lorenzo stood outside the walls of Florence, and was consecrated by S. Ambrose (about A.D. 393), who was intimate with Zenobius, then Bishop of Florence: and that it was the primitive Cathedral of Florence: it is now a Collegiate Church, with about a dozen Canons, I believe.

Thursday, June 5.—Went to S. Miniato al Monte; steep ascent with cypresses at the top. You mount the hill by a Via Crucis, very significant and characteristic, as leading to the beautiful view at the summit of the hill from that Church. A Gethsemane of toil, leading to an Olivet of triumph. S. Miniato is now a burial-place. There is a crypt beneath the Church. This must be a laborious ascent for a funeral cortége; but perhaps the labour is well compensated by associations and suggestions suitable for religious musing and meditation, and by its retirement from the city, and its elevation above the business of

the world. The ambone in the Church carries us back to ancient times, when the Gospel was read openly to the people.

Friday, June 6.—Grand Mass to-day at S. Croce in honour of Cavour, it being the first anniversary of his death. There were banners fringed with crape, hung out of the windows in the streets. On the eve, at the “*Ville de Paris*,” the men (no women) were engaged in making wreaths and garlands of flowers, lilies, carnations, blue larkspurs, and green leaves, to decorate his cenotaph.

Over the door of the Church was the following inscription:—

“A CAMILLO DI CAVOUR,
Mente d' Italia,
Che oggi fa l' anno lo pianse
Rinnovando per voto pubblico
Degne onoranze.
Giuriamo a Dio in questo Santuario
Di avita sapienza e gloria perenne
Compire con fede, senno, amore,
Ond' ebbe ensinamento,
L' *Unità della Patria*.”

The scene in the Church after the Mass was too dramatic and artificial for our taste. The glare and smell of the crowded candles, the

gaudy style of ornament of the high catafalque, raised in the centre of the Church; and, above all, the glorification of the human instrument, in the temple of God, were all repugnant to the feelings, in different ways. All that was here displayed began and ended in *man*.

Went to Casa Salviani, Via Chiara, lately purchased as a college for the Vaudois; I believe, in great measure, by the generous liberality of members of the Free Kirk of Scotland. Had an interview with the Vaudois Pastor, Geymonat, a zealous, able, and eloquent man, who officiates in the Church of the Vaudois, or Valdesi (as the Italians call them), and also gives instruction as Professor in the College, which is for the training of theological students.

Signor Geymonat has lately published at Florence an interesting history of that body, entitled, "*Gli Evangelici Valdesi*." He traces their origin from the ninth century,—especially from the time of Claudio, a Spaniard, who was Bishop of Turin in A.D. 822, and protested vehemently against the corruptions of Rome, in doctrine and worship.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, other

champions arose who contended for a purer faith; and Signor Geymonat justly observes that the Church of Rome has done injustice to the *Waldenses*, by ascribing their rise and name to *Peter Waldo* or *Valdo*, who flourished at the end of the twelfth century.

Their name, like that of the *Albigenses*, is of local origin. The latter were so called from *Albi*, where they dwelt; and the *valleys* of *Piedmont* gave their name to the *Valdesi*, or *Vaudois*. It is more probable that *Waldo* was so named from the *Waldenses*, than that the *Waldenses* were so called from him ⁴.

The "Holy Office of the Inquisition," instituted by *S. Dominic*, and fostered by *Pope Innocent III.*, in the thirteenth century, endeavoured to exterminate the *Waldenses*. The fourth *Lateran Council*, at *Rome*, proclaimed a religious war—a crusade—in A.D. 1215, against the *Christians of Piedmont*. The Emperor *Frederick II.*, stimulated by *Pope Honorius III.*, issued an edict for their utter extinction. Other *Popes*, such as *John XXII.*, *Clement VI.*, *Gregory XI.*, *Clement VII.*, continued the war of persecution. *Innocent VIII.*, in

⁴ Geymonat, p. 10.

1477, published a Bull in which he charged his Nuncio, in Savoy, to require the King of France and the *Duke of Savoy* to extirpate the Waldenses, and in which he authorized him "to preach a holy crusade against them, and to offer to all the faithful, who assisted him, plenary indulgences and pardon once in their lives⁵, for all their sins;" and gave free liberty to any one to seize their goods; and declares that all "Kings and Magistrates shall be deposed and excommunicated," who do not obey the orders of the Nuncio in this matter.

The subsequent History of the Waldenses exhibits a continuation of the same conduct on the part of the Papacy during the two following centuries. Especially in the years 1535—1537, the fury of Rome, aided by Carlo III. of *Savoy*, raged against them; and burst forth again in 1557 and 1560; and once more in 1637—1640, under Christina, regent of *Savoy*, daughter of Mary of Medicis⁶. Pope Innocent X., in 1649, issued a Bull, in which he annulled all the franchises which had been conceded to the Waldenses by the *House of*

⁵ P. 27.

⁶ See p. 59.

Savoy; and commands were issued from *Turin*, in 1655, "to put them to the sword'." Dreadful was the carnage which ensued. Milton, in his Sonnet "on the Massacre in Piedmont," has uttered a prayer to heaven, that the groans may there be recorded of those who were slain in their ancient fold

"By the bloody Piedmontese, that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks: their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To Heaven."

Cromwell sent Sir William Morland to *Turin* with a letter to the Duke of *Savoy*, in which he implored him to spare his own subjects; and on the 18th of August, 1656, some respite was obtained for them by the Truce of *Pinerolo*: and 40,000*l.* was collected in their behalf in England, under Cromwell's auspices; and Sir W. Morland published a *History of their sufferings*, at London, in 1658.

Their peace was of short duration. The Church of Rome exerted her influence at the courts of Louis XIV. and of Victor Amedeus II. of *Savoy*, and an edict was issued at *Turin*

' "Ho visto l' ordine d' uccidere tutti."

on the 9th April, 1686, which was the counterpart of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Waldenses were forbidden to exercise their religion on pain of expulsion from their homes. The Waldenses met in a religious council, and resolved to celebrate the Holy Communion on the following Easter. A war of extermination ensued, and 6000 were cast into prison, and more than 1000 slain⁸.

They were again aided by England. Queen Mary, the wife of William III., instituted a fund, which still exists; and which, together with the additions made in England in 1776, produces an annual income of 13,000 francs, which are distributed among thirteen Ministers of the Waldensian Communion by the instrumentality of "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." Substantial aid has also been supplied by two generous persons, the Reverend Dr. Gilly, late Canon of Durham, and General Beckwith. The Vaudois College of Torre, in 1855, was instituted by Dr. Gilly and General Beckwith; and the latter has aided in the foundation and reparation of eighty Vaudois Schools.

⁸ P. 68.

By a decree of the Waldensian Synod in 1860, it has been resolved to transfer the Theological School from Torre to Florence, where I had an interview to-day with the learned and able writer of the History of the Waldenses, who was the Secretary of the Assembly which published the "Constitution of the Evangelical Church of the Waldenses" at Torre, on 25th May, 1855; which may be seen in his volume⁹.

There is something *prophetic* in Milton's Sonnet, just noticed (Sonnet xviii.)—

"Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold.
. . . . Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple Tyrant."

It is a signal retribution of Divine Providence on the Papacy, that the present assaults upon Rome are coming from *Piedmont*; that is, from precisely that part of Italy, which—as is shown in the above historical sketch—*was* the scene of its most barbarous and cruel outrages

⁹ Pp. 198—210.

upon the poor, simple, and helpless Christian worshippers in the valleys of that region, who were butchered like sheep by the emissaries of Rome. Rome preached Crusades against *Piedmont*. *Piedmont* is now preaching a Crusade against Rome. Rome stimulated the *House of Savoy* to exterminate the Christians of those valleys. The *House of Savoy* is now leading the legions of Italy—some 300,000 strong—against Rome.

Carlo Passaglia is also leading his spiritual forces—his 9000 Priests—from *Piedmont* to the doors of the Vatican, and conjures the Pope, in the name of Christianity and of Italy, to abdicate his temporal sovereignty, and to lay down his royal diadem at the feet of Victor Emmanuel. Are not these “signs of the times?” May we not mark the footprints of Divine Omnipotence, and of Divine Justice here?

I heard on good authority that the Free Kirk of Scotland, which has little sympathy with “the Plymouthists,” as they are called here, prefers to work with and by the Waldenses, who have Teachers trained and set apart for the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. The Waldenses have also some set

liturgical forms, and recite the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer in their public worship. They have also a "Confession of Faith" agreed upon by the Vaudois Churches in 1655, which consists of Thirty-three Articles:

The substance of these Articles is as follows:—

1. On the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity.

2, 3, 4. On the veracity and inspiration of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament.

8. On original sin.

11. On election and reprobation.

13. On the two Natures—the Divine and Human—in the One Person of Christ.

15, 16. On the Sacrifice of the Cross—offered once for all, and not to be repeated—the sole meritorious cause of justification with God.

17. On union with Christ, and Justification by Faith, resting on the promises made in the Gospel.

19. On Christ the Only Mediator and Intercessor with the Father.

20. On the promise which God makes of

regeneration in Christ to those who are united to Him by Faith.

21. On the necessity of good works.

22. On the eternal reward promised to good works.

23. Against invocation of Saints, who are to be imitated, but not worshipped.

24. On Christ the Only Head of the One Church which God has instituted in the world for the salvation of men.

25, 26, 27. On the holiness, unity, and indefectibility of the Church.

28. On the necessity of the means of grace, which are the Word of God, and the two Sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, which God has instituted as means whereby we are united to Christ, and partake of His benefits.

29. On the Sacrament of Baptism, which was instituted for a witness of our adoption; and wherein we are washed from our sins in the blood of Christ, and are renewed in holiness of life.

30. On the Lord's Supper, or Eucharist, which Christ has instituted to be the food of our souls, in order that, by a true living faith,

and by the incomprehensible virtue of the Holy Ghost, we eating effectually His flesh, and drinking His blood, and being joined most nearly and inseparably to Christ, may have eternal life in and through Him.

31. On the necessity of the Christian Ministry for the preaching of the Word, and Administration of the Sacraments: which Ministry consists of Pastors, joined with Elders and Deacons.

32. On the Civil Magistracy, instituted by God.

33. On the duty of receiving the *Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and Lord's Prayer*, as fundamental documents of faith and worship.

The Waldenses, or Vaudois, observe also certain Holydays of the Church, Christmas Day, Ascension Day, and Good Friday.

A zealous member of the Scotch Free Church said to me, that he and his brethren could do nothing with the "Plymouthists;" and that no permanent effect could be produced on the Italian mind by their irregular efforts, but that more might be hoped, he thought, from the Waldenses, who were pious, prudent, and

earnest men, and who did not send forth their ministers till they had gone through a long course of study, and had passed the test of a searching examination. Is not this a testimony on the part of the Free Church of Scotland to the necessity of Church-organization? And ought not *that* organization to be preferred which has the stamp of Antiquity and Catholicity?

The Free Church is active at Florence; the Vaudois also, who are now entering on a new career in this spacious theological Seminary, and the Plymouthists, are not idle. These religious Societies are the representatives of the Reformation; and they have rather an aggressive character. But scarcely any thing is done here by the Churches of England, Ireland, Scotland, and America for the purpose of opening out friendly intercourse with the Roman Catholic Clergy, and of conciliating their affections and confidence, and of leading them on to Reformation by an appeal to the principles of primitive Christianity.

CHAPTER XVI.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

WENT to S. Onofrio to see Raffaele's fresco in the Cenacolo, now secularized: the colours are fresh and clear. Two of his sketches for it are preserved in the apartment; the lower limbs were carefully delineated before they were draped; an evidence of the *science* which underlies the surface of this great Master's pictures, and which is the cause of the beauty of the forms which it underlies. This fresco is well known to the world from its excellent photograph.

Went in the afternoon to the Convent of S. Mark: beautiful frescos of Fra Angelico in the Cloisters and Chapter-house, and cells of the monks. Some of the figures in these frescos are exquisite specimens of artistic

delicacy and purity in conception and execution.

Visited the cell of Savonarola, described as "Apostolicus" in the inscription there; but my companion, who belonged to the Monastery, said that the great Florentine preacher was "fanatico per la libertà." These are melancholy days for all who have any connexion with Monasteries; and the memory of all Reformers, even of those who proceeded from their own body, seems to be ungrateful to them. The Italian Legislature has recently passed a Law¹ which prohibits the Monastic Orders from incorporating any new members, and transfers the property of these religious houses to the Crown, for Civil and Military purposes, under certain conditions, viz. that public worship should still be maintained, and "works of art" should be preserved.

The Convents and Monasteries of Italy are now dying slowly of atrophy and inanition. Many of the cells of this noble Monastery are untenanted. The monks, who still linger on in this once celebrated Monastery, seem to be

¹ December 22, 1861.

moving about like shadows ready to vanish away. Their long white flowing Dominican robes, and their large broad-brimmed black beaver hats, contrasted strangely with the bright uniforms and glittering bayonets of the soldiers who are quartered among them; and the once peaceful cloisters of Fra Angelico were sounding with the military music of the Florentine National Guard.

This suppression of Monasteries is a severe blow to the Papacy, whose most able champions and active emissaries have proceeded from them. Striking metamorphosis, and strange transition! These Monasteries, which were like camps and fortresses of the Papacy, are now converted into barracks, and the spiritual military of the Papacy is making way for the soldiery of Victor Emmanuel.

In a work written by a son of Archbishop Sandys, and pupil of Richard Hooker, about 265 years ago, and addressed to Archbishop Whitgift, and entitled "Europæ Speculum," or a "Survey of the State of Religion," especially in Italy, there are some excellent remarks on the services rendered to the Papacy by what the Author calls "*the multitude of Friars*"

ready to be put in arms," p. 74, ed. 1673. The Franciscans alone in the time of Pope Sixtus V. are said by him to have been 30,000, "and the Dominicans strove in competency with the Franciscans in all things." This work of Sir Edwin Sandys is one of much interest to the traveller in Italy, even at this day.

Doubtless the vices of the Monastic Orders have been, in a great degree, the cause of the misfortunes which have lately fallen upon them. The people of Tuscany cannot forget the exposure of the immoralities practised in them, and patronized by them, of which many proofs were given in the days of the Archduke Leopold, and which he attempted to restrain. And the large numbers of religious houses—there were then 213 Convents, and 136 Monasteries in Tuscany—were also prejudicial to them.

No institutions perish, except by internal corruption; but they who execute penal retribution upon them, are too often carried away by a spirit of revenge or self-interest, and do *not reform, but destroy.*

No more recruits are now to be added to the Monastic muster-roll of Italy. This is

indeed a severe loss to the Papacy. But may it not also be detrimental to Religion, unless it be accompanied with other wholesome measures of reformation?

The Monasteries sent forth many able and learned Preachers, who in some degree made compensation for the ignorance of the Parochial Clergy, especially by their preaching as Home Missionaries in great towns.

As Sir Edwin Sandys observed in his days, in the work just noticed, p. 86, "Preaching is an exercise in which the *secular* Priests list not to distemper their brains much, but commend it in a manner wholly to the *Regulars*."

The danger is now, that with the suppression of the Monasteries, the character of the Clergy may sink even lower than it is; and that they may become a race of mere mass-priests, ignorant and superstitious, and trading on the ignorance and superstition of others; and thus prepare the way for an antichristian outbreak of Infidelity and Socialism. Would not the Parliament of Italy do well and wisely, if, instead of proceeding to secularize all the

Monasteries and their endowments, it would reserve some of their buildings and revenues for the improvement of the intellectual and social condition of the *Parochial Clergy*? Would not the Parliament of Italy be rendering an essential service to the State, as well as to the Church, if it were to apply some of the resources from the suppressed religious houses to the foundation of *Universities and Colleges*, and endowment of *Professorships*; particularly for the instruction of the future Clergy of Italy in *Biblical learning, Church History, and dogmatic Theology*? The instruction now given in the Ecclesiastical Seminaries of Italy is confessedly poor, meagre, and jejune; it is not based on a sound knowledge of Holy Scripture and the early Fathers, but on the dicta of the mediæval Schoolmen and Papal Canonists, and cannot produce loyal subjects any more than learned divines.

I entered into conversation with one of these Dominicans whom I met in the cloister of S. Mark's. On expressing my regret at the appearance of religious indifference now visible in Florence, he said, "You ought to have

come here at Lent, when some of the Churches were filled with large congregations listening to eloquent preachers."

Those preachers were members of religious Orders, and produced an extraordinary effect; some of their sermons contained energetic denunciations against Protestantism, which were enthusiastically received*. But I do not think that they have produced any salutary effect of a permanent character on the faith and practice of the people.

I told him that I hoped he would not judge of us by what he heard in popular harangues against Protestantism. "But," said he, "you have no 'Capo Vivo della Chiesa.'" "Yes, we have, Christ Himself." "But not His Vicario?" "No; we do not find that the Church of Christ is built upon *One* Apostle, but 'on Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the Head Corner-stone'; not upon one stone, but upon 'twelve stones'; and we know that St. Paul rebuked and resisted St. Peter,

* Some account of them was afterwards given in the *Civiltà Cattolica* for May 1862, p. 363.

* Eph. ii. 20.

* Rev. xxi. 14.

and S. Polycarp resisted Anicetus, Bishop of Rome ; and S. Cyprian resisted Stephen, Bishop of Rome." "But," said he, "Augustine affirms that Cyprian expiated his error by martyrdom!" "Yes, expiated the error into which he had fallen in maintaining that baptism when conferred by heretics is no baptism at all; but Augustine does not charge Cyprian with error *because he resisted Pope Stephen*; indeed Augustine himself resisted two Bishops of Rome." "But," he replied, "if you read the Santi Padri, you will see your error." "We do read the Santi Padri, and I am inclined to believe that there are more copies of the Santi Padri in one 'vicolo di Londra' that I could mention, than in all the booksellers' shops of Florence." I had been in many of them, and had not met with a single copy of any. "Oh! but," he rejoined, "we buy them all, and we have S. Tommaso d'Aquino, and we all study him."

Drove in the evening to the Lung' Arno, and the Cascine: beautiful lights on the hills after a shower; the air so clear and transparent, that distant objects were visible almost in minute details.

CHAPTER XVII.

PISTOIA. SCIPIO DE RICCI'S ATTEMPTS AT REFORMATION.

Saturday, June 7th.—Went this morning by railroad to Pistoia, the Episcopal See of Scipio de Ricci, whose endeavours to make reformatations in the Church of Rome in Tuscany, under the Grand Duke Leopold, in the latter part of the last century, have given to his name a celebrity beyond the limits of Italy.

Scipio de Ricci was born at Florence on the 9th of January, 1741. His mother was of the noble family of the Ricasolis, which has derived new lustre in our own days from the administration of Baron Ricasoli, the successor of Count Cavour in June 1861.

Scipio de Ricci was educated in early life among the Jesuits, but he passed from their

hands into those of the Benedictines, and became one of the most energetic opponents of the Jesuits, and one of the most zealous advocates of Jansenism: he was advanced to the Episcopal See of Pistoia and Prato in the year 1780.

Scipio de Ricci convened his *Diocesan* Synod at Pistoia on September 18, 1786, in the Church of S. Leopold. Ricci was too ambitious of pre-eminence. He wished to be the head of a religious party. There was something of vain-glorious weakness on his part in taking the lead of his brother Bishops, and separating himself from them. Thus he damaged his own cause, created opposition, and brought obloquy on himself. Besides this, he incautiously mixed up the dogmas of Jansenistic theology with questions of religious reformation; in so doing, he wished to humble the Jesuits and the Papacy; he adopted some of the theological propositions which had been condemned in the Papal bull *Unigenitus*, and thus exposed himself to much animadversion on religious grounds.

His Synod consisted of 234 members, priests or theologians, and was attended by several

celebrated canonists. The Council had seven sessions, which were harmonious enough, and it was disposed to adopt the reforms which the Bishop proposed; but the Court of Rome exerted its influence on the nobility of Pistoia, and the opponents of Ricci were able to prevent the publication of the Acts of the Synod, under the plea that fifty-seven questions on the subjects discussed had been issued by the Grand Duke to the Bishops of Tuscany, and that their replies to those questions were far from being uniform; and "that a *National Council* of the Bishops of Tuscany was about to be summoned at Florence; and that it would be premature and inexpedient to promulgate any decrees of a *Diocesan* Synod (such as that of Pistoia), before the resolutions of the *National Council* of Florence were known."

That National Council of Florence was summoned on the 17th of March, 1787, and met at Florence on the 23rd of April in that year; three Archbishops were present, and fourteen Bishops.

This was a fatal step. The Bishops had *not been prepared* by previous conference and

deliberation. They had not had time to consider fully the questions proposed to them. The principles and usages of primitive Christian Antiquity had not been calmly and clearly presented to their view; they were not well versed in the history of the gradual progress of Papal usurpations on the rights of the People, the Clergy, the Episcopate, and the Crown. They did not know that the Canon Law of the Roman Courts, and of their own Ecclesiastical tribunals, is adulterated with many spurious decrees, which were interpolated by Roman Canonists, for the purpose of aggrandizing the Papacy, and ought to be expunged. They regarded the Papal Canon Law with almost as much reverence as the Bible. They brought to the Council all the prejudices derived from the study of that Papal Canon Law; which is grounded on the foundation of the false decretals and mediæval traditions, that had taken deep root in the belief and practice of the Roman Catholic Church.

They came to the Council in the chains and fetters of oaths of vassalage to the Pope, by which they had bound themselves "to main-

tain the royalties of St. Peter against all men, and to persecute and wage war with all rebels against the Pope."

Besides, they were exasperated against Ricci personally, because, in their opinion, he had stolen a march upon them by his Synod of Pistoia; and they came together with a determination to crush him, and to reject his reforms, which they regarded as having an heretical tendency and schismatical character.

In addition to this, the questions submitted by the Grand Duke to the Bishops were so numerous and various, affecting some of the most difficult questions of theological doctrine, as well as concerning the minute details of Clerical studies and Ecclesiastical discipline, and long-established usages and ceremonies of Ritual and Worship, that the Bishops might well be alarmed at the prospect before them, and might suppose that they were threatened by a religious revolution.

Consequently, as might have been anticipated, Ricci and his Episcopal allies, the Bishops of Chiusi, Colle, and Soana, were overwhelmed by the votes of the other Bishops who were adverse to reformation. And when

the majority of Bishops had once *committed themselves publicly* by declarations in Synod against the proposals of the Grand Duke, it was vain to hope that they would afterwards recede from those resolutions, to which they had given a formal adhesion. They were obstinately fixed in a determination to resist all reformation.

The nineteenth and last Session of this Council of Florence was held on the 5th of June, 1787. After its close the Grand Duke Leopold published a Manifesto, in which he expressed his bitter disappointment at the result of its deliberations.

After the failure of the attempt at Florence, Ricci had little encouragement to persevere in his own efforts at Pistoia. Indeed, during the Sessions of the Council at Florence, the populace of his Diocese had been agitated by Papal emissaries, who persuaded the laity that their Bishop was infected with heretical opinions, and was determined to destroy the most sacred objects of their devotions; especially that he intended to demolish an Altar of the Cathedral at Prato, in which a *cintola*, or girdle, supposed to have been worn by the

blessed Virgin Mary, was preserved with religious veneration.

On the 20th of May, the mob of Prato rose in a riot of fanaticism, and proceeded to the Church where the altar was, and tore down the Bishop's throne and arms, and burnt them in the market-place of Prato; and illuminated the Church where the sacred girdle was, and displayed it to the reverence of its votaries. They also reinstated the images which had been removed by the orders of the Bishop, and burnt the books which he had distributed among his Clergy, and menaced the professors of his Ecclesiastical Seminary, and the priests of the Parishes who were supposed to be favourable to his views.

The publication of the Acts of the Synods of Florence and Pistoia, and the excitement produced by it in Italy and Europe, and the rupture which ensued between the Grand Duke Leopold and the Court of Rome, and the cabals of the Bishops of Tuscany, headed by the Archbishop of Florence, against Ricci, and their intrigues among the Clergy of his Diocese, many of whom abandoned their Bishop, and recanted their own subscriptions

to the Acts of the Synod of Pistoia, were followed by the death of the Emperor Joseph in February, 1790, and by the elevation of the Grand Duke Leopold to the imperial throne. Ricci was now isolated and disheartened; he retired from his Diocese, and resigned his Episcopal See: but Rome would not allow him to enjoy repose. The Pope, Pius VI., condemned the Acts of his Synod in the bull "Auctorem Fidei," promulgated on the 31st of August, 1794.

This Bull (which is appended to some recent editions of the Papal Canon Law ¹) contains no less than eighty-five articles on a great variety of questions of doctrine, discipline, and ritual, and shows clearly the indiscretion and rashness of Ricci in dogmatizing on so many matters, of such a miscellaneous character, and some of them of such difficulty and importance, without adequate preparation on his own part and that of his Clergy to pronounce upon them, and with still less disposition on the part of the people to accept their decisions.

¹ e. g. that of Leipsic, 1839, Appendix to Tom. ii. p. 146.

afterwards Ricci was arrested at those loyalists of Arrezzo who had been seduced by the excesses of the French in Italy, and supposed him to be attached to the Gallican cause. He was confined in prison in Florence, and from prison transferred to the Dominican Convent of Santa Maria Novella, where he is said to have found comfort in the records there preserved of the great preacher, the Florentine Savonarola, in whose cell he some- times dwelt.

In the year 1805 Florence was visited by Pope Pius VII. on his return to Rome after the Coronation of Napoleon; Ricci was induced by the Pope to sign a declaration of faith, which was announced by Pius with great joy in his Allocution to the Roman people at Rome, in the Secret Consistory of the 10th of January, 1805². Ricci died at Florence on the 10th of January, 1810.

The history of Ricci's Episcopate would

be of great interest. His speech may be seen appended to recent editions of the Roman Canon Law, e. g. that of Leipsic, 1839, Appendix, p. 163; compare Carlo Botta's Storia della Chiesa, lib. xxii.

be of inestimable benefit at the present time. It would suggest many wholesome cautions and admonitions to those who may be led to engage in the work of Religious Reformation.

Ricci's attempts at Reformation were abortive, but even on that account they are fraught with warning and instruction to the present age. They indicate *what* is to be *avoided*. They show that Religious Reformation must not be attempted in a spirit of self-love and self-display: not with a view of gratifying personal vanity and private ambition, but with a single eye to the Divine glory. They show the importance of *considering well* where to *begin*; they show the necessity of *not* attempting too many things at once; and above all, of not alarming deeply-rooted prejudices, and of not exciting popular passions, especially in matters which relate to religious worship. The public mind must first be duly *prepared* by the diffusion of sound knowledge and intelligence, and must thus be enabled to *reform itself*. The failure of Leopold's and Ricci's attempts at Reformation seems also to afford additional proof that the true method of *beginning* such an undertaking at the present

time, would be, as has been already said, to deal first with matters of *discipline*, rather than of *doctrine*. If Ricci had not introduced the tenets of Jansenism into the Acts of his Council, but had limited himself to the Reformation of abuses in Ecclesiastical discipline and government, he would have been on safe ground. But by entering upon the region of polemical theology, he exposed himself and the Grand Duke to the suspicion of heresy, and thus frustrated the Grand Duke's attempts to put the discipline of the Church upon a better footing. The Pope would not have been able to withstand the efforts of the Tuscan Reformers, if they had carefully studied the records of the primitive Church from the times of the Apostles, and in the first four centuries, and if, when they had completely mastered that subject, they had begun with an appeal to Holy Scripture and primitive Antiquity in matters of Church government, and with a strenuous endeavour to restore primitive Church discipline, which the Pope detested more than all the propositions of Jansenius.

The true method of conducting the work of

Reformation would be to recall the minds of the Clergy and the Nation to the principles and usages of the *primitive Church*, especially in the *appointment of Bishops*.

The vacancy of so many Episcopal sees in Italy at the present time, and of so many Ecclesiastical dignities, is a very favourable circumstance, which did not exist in Ricci's time. Let those vacancies be filled up with persons unfettered by trammels of bondage to the Papal See; and when a certain number of wise, learned, pious, loyal, and patriotic men has been appointed to Episcopal sees, and other Ecclesiastical dignities, and Parochial cures of Italy, and when the popular mind has been enlightened by sound teaching of the Holy Scriptures, and by the requisite knowledge of the doctrine and discipline of the Primitive Church,—especially the Primitive Church of Italy,—then it may be hoped that, with the Divine Blessing, religious Reformation will spring forth of itself, as a spontaneous development of the inner working of the Spirit of God in the heart and mind of the Church and Nation of Italy.

I visited the Bishop's Palace, a handsome

building erected by Scipio de Ricci in 1787. The See of Pistoia is now vacant. One of the Canons of the Cathedral (Monsignor Breschi) is acting as Vicario Capitolare, or Deputy of the Bishop. He has lately put forth a Pastoral, in which he exhorts the Clergy and People of the Diocese to rally round the Pope: he was holding his Ecclesiastical Court in the Episcopal Palace.

Why should not a Bishop be appointed to the See of Pistoia, who, profiting by Ricci's mistakes, might resume the work of Reformation, and have a part in conducting it to a favourable issue?

I also visited his Seminary, or theological training College, nearly opposite to the Palace: it has a noble corridor, and beautiful garden; and there are now about 120 students. I was informed that the system of teaching now pursued was not in harmony with the principles of the present régime. Indeed this can hardly be expected, as long as the influence of Rome is what it is, and as long as the received text-books of theological Schools are what they are. At Rieti the pupils of the Bishop's theological Seminary displayed the *Papal*

escutcheon, on the anniversary of the Statuto; the Government shut up the Seminary, and sent the pupils home.

I had a letter of introduction to a celebrated person at Pistoia, Dom. —, who is well known to the public as having been invited, and almost compelled, by the people of Pistoia to preach to them a series of sermons in the Cathedral last Lent; his eloquence, his high character, and his age,—and perhaps even his physical infirmity—he is nearly blind, but is very hale and vigorous—and his known hostility to the temporal power of the Papacy, brought the people to the doors of his house, which (as he informed me) they almost besieged with clamour and importunity, and at last he yielded to their solicitations, and went to the Cathedral, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. But though beloved and revered by the people, he is '*suspended*' by the present representative of the Bishop, and not allowed to hear Confessions. However, the Vicario Capitolare was obliged to allow him to preach, in order to avoid a popular insurrection.

Strange contrast! The people of Prato in

Ricci's time rose in rebellion, because they thought he was going to rob them of the 'miraculous girdle;' and this year the people of Pistoia, Ricci's Episcopal city, rose up in a fit of enthusiasm to do honour to a suspended Priest of the city, who makes no secret of his desire that the Pope should be divested of his temporal power.

This contrast is instructive. It shows that any thing may be done in the way of reforming the abuses of the Papacy, as to its claims to *temporal supremacy and dominion*, and its usurpation of *Ecclesiastical jurisdiction* in appointment of Bishops, &c., and that the People would look calmly on, as they have lately done at the spoliation of the Pope of a large part of his territories,—indeed they have been abettors of that spoliation,—and at the suppression of Monasteries and Nunneries; but they must be educated a great deal more than they now are in the vital truths of Christianity, before they will part with a single object of their devotion;—and when they *have been educated*, they will be the first to batter down the idols which they themselves have worshipped.

I had a long conversation with this venerable Ecclesiastic, and found that he was entirely of the opinion which is expressed above, that Ricci failed because he attempted too much at once, and did not begin with matters of Ecclesiastical Discipline and Jurisdiction, but entangled himself in polemical questions, and thus embarrassed himself and his cause. Besides, said he, Ricci was not a man of learning, and therefore he was not a match for the Pope's theologians.

Walked with him to see another friend: we were joined in our way by a Priest who had been suspended "a divinis" for his loyalty. "Siamo sacrificati dai nostri superiori," said he: we called together on another Ecclesiastic who is engaged in collecting materials for a history of Ricci and his times.

On this subject I will paraphrase a passage from a French writer¹. "In their plans for Reformation, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold, and the Bishop of Pistoia, Ricci, were not quite agreed. Leopold desired to

¹ *Esprit de l'Église*, De Potter, tom. v. p. 90. Paris, 1820.

nationalize the Church of Tuscany, and to emancipate it from the trammels of Rome,—to which it ought never to have been subject. Ricci aspired to be the leader of a religious party, and to humble the Papacy by achieving a triumph for Jansenism at the doors of Rome. By this imprudent measure he ruined the plans of his Master, the Grand Duke. The Pope condemned the dogmatic innovations of the Bishop, and in condemning them he censured also the disciplinarian attempts of Ricci's patron, the Grand Duke, which he feared and detested more than the Bishop's theology; and which he would not have dared to denounce publicly, for fear of exasperating both Princes and People, who had their eyes opened to the ambitious prétensions of the Court of Rome."

There is much truth in these remarks, and they deserve to be weighed well at the present crisis.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

Sunday, June 8th. Whitsunday.—After the English Service went to the Duomo. "Is there any sermon here to-day?" "No," was the reply, "but there is one at S. Gaetano,"—a neighbouring church. So to S. Gaetano I went. High mass was just over, and the candles were being put out; and a bell rung, and out of the Sacristy came forth a Dominican Friar, Padre ——, one of the leading men of the Order, attended by an acolyte, and mounted the Pulpit; knelt down toward a crucifix on his left, and he began his "conferenza," as it was called, being one of a series, on the "rights of man."

He commenced with a description of man's rights *before* the Fall, and with a statement of

the conditions of obedience to God, by which they were controlled; and then proceeded to speak of his condition *after* the Fall. How were his lost rights to be recovered? This question (he said) could only be solved by reference to the Bible, but “not (he added) to the Bible interpreted *according to each man’s private sense*, as the Protestants teach us, but under the guidance of the Church. And Holy Scripture, thus explained, instructs us to look to Christ as our ‘Reparatore.’ The work of Restoration was effected by the Incarnation and Death of the Son of God; and we must avail ourselves of the benefits thus conferred upon us by God. And how are we to obtain these benefits? how are we to obtain pardon and grace? how are we to recover what Adam lost? How are we to regain heaven? The Protestants tell you that you have nothing to do but to look to Christ crucified,”—and then he turned to the crucifix in an attitude of adoration,—“and to apply to yourself the righteousness of Christ by faith, as they call it, and to assure yourself confidently that God imputes Christ’s righteousness *to you personally*, and then,

they say, the work of salvation is done for you; you need nothing more. But the Catholic Church teaches, that you must lead a holy life, a life of obedience and self-sacrifice, that you must follow the example of Christ's life, if you would enjoy the benefits of His Death; you must be ready to do and to suffer for Christ, as those holy men did and suffered whom the Chief Pontiff ('il sommo Gerarca') is canonizing to-day and proposing to the veneration of the faithful at Rome (the Japanese Martyrs). But do not think that you may sacrifice your life recklessly,"—and then he uttered a strong protest and solemn warning against suicide;—"and you must be ready to give your goods to feed the poor: you must consider that nothing is your own, but that all things are common. Act in this spirit: imitate the first Christians. Do not however suppose that *property* is not authorized by Christianity:"—and then he made some good remarks against communism:—"but exercise the spirit of love as taught by the Catholic Church; she, and she only makes men charitable: in Protestant countries there is no true Charity. There the poor perish

with hunger, while their neighbours are rolling in wealth and revelling in luxury, and yet look on with indifference." He then appealed for the alms of the congregation, and a collection was made; and he informed them what would be the subject of the next conference, to which he invited their attendance. He then descended from the pulpit and disappeared. This Sermon was delivered with ease and dignity of manner; the style was clear and elegant, the utterance fluent, ready, and agreeable.

I felt rather disconcerted by the character he had given of Protestants to the congregation, and went to the Sacristy and asked, "Has the Preacher left the Church?" "Yes; he is '*rientrato nella casa del Priore*.'" "Would you have the kindness to conduct me to him?" "Certainly." I was led through a gallery, up a staircase, and was introduced into an apartment, where the Preacher was taking coffee, with two other Priests, after the Sermon. The Priests retired, and left me with the Preacher. Having apologized for the visit, and having expressed the pleasure I had derived from a considerable portion of the

Sermon, I said I felt sure he would pardon me if, as a minister of the Church of England, I ventured to offer some respectful expostulations on certain statements in his discourse: "You said, I think, that the Protestant Communities have no rule for interpreting the Bible, but leave it to be twisted about by every man according to his caprice. This, I venture to assure you, is not the case with the Church of England. She knows that the *true sense* of the Bible is the Bible; and that a *false* sense is *not* the Bible, but a perversion of it; it is *man's* word put in the place of *God's Word*: the Church of England therefore not only places the Bible in the hands of her people, but she helps her people to *understand* it aright; she accompanies it with her Book of Common Prayer, in which are the three Creeds, and a Catechism, and Articles of Religion; and she says in her Articles, that 'the Church'—that is the Church universal '—'has *authority* in Controversies of faith." She asserts that the Church is the 'Keeper of the Bible,' and that no one

¹ Art. XX.

can prove the Integrity, Genuineness, and Inspiration of the Bible without the help of the Church. The Church of England defines the Canonical Books of Scripture to be those books which are '*generally received in the Church*'.

"Besides, you said, if I remember rightly, that Protestants teach that a man will be saved if he can assure himself that he is favoured by God; and that he need not fear any thing if he can work himself up to a persuasion that God imputes to him the merits of Christ, and that this we call 'justification by faith.' Now let me be allowed to assure you, that the Church of England does not separate the doctrine of Justification from that of Sanctification, but teaches with St. Paul that 'without holiness no man shall see the Lord'; and I asked him whether he was acquainted with the works of our Bishops,—Bishop Bull on this subject?" To which he replied in the negative. He listened courteously to what was said, and then replied that if I had attended to his sermon I might

' Art. VI.

' Heb. xii. 14.

have perceived that he had not once mentioned the *Church of England*, for which he professed much respect: he had said nothing at all of "*la chiesa Anglicana*," but that his remarks referred only to *those forms of Protestantism* which were known to the people of Florence, especially that of the *Waldenses* and their adherents, who, he said, "are very busy in making Proselytes, and circulating books against our Religion: they all appeal to the '*senso privato*;' and in cautioning the people of Florence against Protestantism, I referred to those Protestants with whom alone the people of Florence are acquainted: how could I do otherwise?"

This statement suggested feelings of regret that the Church of England is not better known than it is in Italy; and that the notions which the Florentines have of Protestantism should be derived from a form of Religion, which is antagonistic in its operations, and which can hardly be expected to make a favourable impression upon them by its system of Church Polity, and Ritual.

I took occasion to offer a respectful remonstrance on the representation which the

Preacher had given of Protestant Philanthropy. "Are you aware that the people of England have proved their sympathy with the poor by legislative enactments which make all real property liable to contributions for the relief of the poor, and that thus a public regular provision is made for the succour of the indigent, in addition to the private beneficence which shows itself in the foundation and support of many charitable Institutions?" No, he was not.

We parted from one another with a friendly farewell on both sides, and I felt a strong persuasion, derived from the sober and serious tone of his sermon, and from the courteous gentleness of his manner, that we should have found many things in common between us; and I felt also an earnest desire that he had some better means than he seemed to possess of making an acquaintance with the English Church and Reformation.

I went in the evening to the Vaudois Church; a large upper room in the Via alla Vigna Nuova. About a hundred persons present. A portion of Scripture (Acts ii.) appropriate to the day (Whitsunday) was

read by a lay deacon from the Version of Diodati. The Sermon was an eloquent discourse in Italian by Pastor G——, dressed as a layman. He asserted explicitly the "Inspiration of Scripture" and the doctrine of the "lavacro di rigenerazione:" he said that the Holy Spirit is the true "Vicario di Gesù Cristo," and that Jesus Christ, not St. Peter, is the Rock of the Church. He spoke in somewhat disparaging terms of the "Power of the Keys," and inveighed in vehement language against the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome. He modestly acknowledged the shortcomings of their own congregations, especially in the neglect of Common Prayer, to which the outpouring of the gifts of the Spirit was promised by Christ.

After the Sermon the preacher made a familiar address, in which he gave an account of various matters, which he supposed might be interesting to the congregation. Among these he mentioned that an English Clergyman would address them in the ensuing week, who had lately been to Rome to circulate tracts among the Roman Catholic Bishops then assembled for the canonization, and who

had been sent away by the Governor of Rome, Monsignor Matteucci, but not without an indemnity for the cost of the lodging he was obliged to quit, and of the tracts, which were confiscated by the authorities. A favourable specimen of Roman lenity. The prayer after the Sermon was a long rambling effusion by the Lay deacon.

Went afterwards to the Cascine: beautiful moonlight view of the Arno, and of the groves on its banks: fireflies flitting through the air, and glowworms twinkling on the ground.

CHAPTER XIX.

FLORENCE (*continued*).

Whit-Monday, June 9th.—Before breakfast at our hotel we had a visit from a mendicant friar, a Capuchin with his sack slung over his shoulder; he was sad, like the Dominicans, at the prospect of the extinction of his order. Went to the Church of S. Spirito, hoping for a service there appropriate to the day: no Sermon—a florid *messa cantata*.

Went in the afternoon to the beautiful Baptistery, whose bronze gates by Ghiberti were said by Michael Angelo to be not unworthy to be gates of Paradise. Two women came into the Baptistery, bringing with them a baby to be christened, one of the women being the Godmother¹; no other

¹ The Church of Rome *requires* one sponsor for every infant: a man for a male child, a woman for a female

person was present besides two Priests and myself.

The Priest, after breathing into the infant's face three times, made the sign of the cross upon it, and uttered a prayer; and then placed his hand upon its head, and uttered another prayer, and then exorcised the salt, ("exorcizo te creatura salis,") and put a particle of salt into the infant's mouth, and said another prayer, and then made the sign of the cross on the forehead of the child, and placed his hand again on the head of the child, and said another prayer: then he recited the

child: she admits two sponsors, i. e. a man and a woman for any child, but never two men or two women; nor ever the parent of the child; and she affirms that a spiritual affinity is contracted, by sponsorship, with the baptized person, and with the parents of the baptized person; which affinity precludes Marriage, and would dissolve it if it had been contracted. No Monks or Nuns may be sponsors.

In cases of danger of death, baptism may be administered, according to the Church of Rome, by any one whether priest, or layman, or woman, even though they be heretics, excommunicated, or unbelievers, "*servatâ tamen formâ et intentione Ecclesiæ*," which (in the latter instances) seems to be a hazardous and precarious supposition. 7c
A

Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, together with the sponsor; and then proceeded to exorcise the Evil Spirit with a certain form of words; and then he put his finger into his own mouth, and touched with the saliva the ears of the infant, and said, "Ephphatha, quod est, aperire²;" and then touched the nose of the child, and then addressed the appointed interrogatories to the sponsor, "Dost thou renounce the Devil, and all his works, and all his pomps?" He then dipped his thumb into the oil, and anointed the infant, and wiped the anointed places with cotton-wool; and then asked the sponsor "*Dost thou believe?*"

It is observable that the Church of Rome still retains the *Apostles'* Creed in the Sacrament of Baptism, as she does the Nicene Creed in the Holy Communion;—in neither case has she ventured to append the *Tridentine additions*.

The name of the child was then asked and given: the Priest did *not* receive the child into *his own arms*, but *while* the sponsor was *holding* the child, he poured water with a

² A bold application of the Divine words in Mark vii. 34.

ladle over it three times, in the form of a cross, the three affusions being made while he pronounced the names of the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. He then anointed the infant's head with the chrism, and wiped the head with cotton-wool, and placed a white napkin on the head of the child, while he uttered the prayer, "Accipe vestem candidam quam immaculatam perferas ante tribunal Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam æternam,"—a record of the white marriage-garment given at Baptism in the Primitive Church³. He then put into the hand of the Sponsor, representing the child, a lighted taper, saying "Accipe lampadem ardentem,"—another edifying reminiscence of the ancient practice of the Church, and of the term by which Baptism was called in the ancient Church—*illumination*⁴. The Priest then took pen and ink, and registered the Baptism in a book, and delivered a copy of the entry to the mother.

I inquired of one of the Priests whether *all*

³ May the author be allowed to refer to his note on Matt. xxii. 11, 12?

⁴ φωτισμός: see on Heb. vi. 4; x. 82.

the Baptisms of Florence were solemnized in this baptistery: if I remember rightly, he said that they were. "How many baptisms have you had to-day?" "Seven." "I suppose that the water is blessed." "Yes, by the Archbishop twice a year, on Easter Even and Whitsun Eve." "Is any fee required for baptism?" "None; but any one offers what he pleases."

We may be disposed to regret that some of the ceremonies here mentioned have not been retained by our own Church. But on the whole the effect of the administration of Baptism—as I saw it on Whit-Monday in this noble baptistery—was unsatisfactory. The Latin Prayers were muttered over by the Priest with unseemly haste, and were almost inaudible, and certainly would not be understood by the greater number of parents and sponsors, and there was no congregation present.

I think we may recognize the good sense of the Church of England in not being content with *one* Godfather or Godmother, and appointing that there should not be less than *three* sponsors: she thus provides that there

should never be a baptism solemnized in her communion, to which our Lord's words may not be applied, "Where *two* or *three* are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them⁵;" and she thus secures a compliance with the Scriptural condition as to *witnesses*,—"In the mouth of *two* or *three witnesses* every word shall be established⁶."

I never was more strongly impressed with the value of a Liturgy in the *mother tongue* of the people than on this occasion. How much sound doctrinal and practical teaching is contained in the Baptismal Office of the Church of England, and how blessed and solemn is the effect of the united prayers of the congregation for the unconscious infant then received into the arms of Christ! When will the Church of Italy recover such privileges as these?

⁵ Matt. xviii. 20.

⁶ Deut. xix. 15. 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

END OF VOL. I.

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